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Cover

Shotgun House; Ashmore, IL. This shotgun house, built during the 1920s, is located in downtown Ashmore. Although it is in a state of deterioration, it reveals some of the basic shotgun house characteristics.

The staff of *Historia* 2001 would like to thank the many that helped and supported this year's publication, especially the History Department, those faculty members who acted as peer reviewers, Dr. Anita Shelton, Donna Nichols, Dr. Newton Key, and all the students that submitted papers.

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Introduction

Phi Alpha Theta was established in 1921. Eastern Illinois' *Epsilon Mu* Chapter was created in 1957. *Historia*, *Epsilon Mu*: student history journal, began publication in 1992. Today, with its tenth volume, *Historia* continues its mission to present the highest quality of student research and writing at Eastern Illinois University. This year is especially remarkable in that it represents the first attempt at obtaining an ISSN (International Standard Serial Number) with the Library of Congress, which should be available for future editions. This year's volume had one of the largest groups of submissions from which only a few could be selected. The authors of these papers come from a number of different backgrounds including undergraduate (History, Social Science, even a Biology major!) and graduate (History and Historical Administration). The various authors' backgrounds has led to a wide range of topics for this year's publication. In addition to the traditional printed copy, *Historia* is also posted on the Internet at http://www.eiu.edu/~historia.

Tis issue ranges from medieval, Renaissance, early modern, and twentieth century Europe to colonial, nineteenth, and twentieth century America. These eras have been approached from a variety of perspectives and methods including oral, architectural, religious, social, and political history. Women's history is represented by Melinda Allen's essay on women's roles in colonial America, which received the Women's Advocacy Council Graduate Writing Award. Heather Stecklein's study of the tenets held by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1960s America won an award from the Iowa Phi Alpha Theta conference in April 2000. Author Nicholas Hoppmann received the

Social Science Writing Award from Eastern Illinois for 2000-01 (for another paper, not included here).

At this time, we would like to thank all those whose efforts made this year's publication possible. First and foremost, we would like to express our appreciation to Dr. Newton Key, whose patience and endless dedication helped make this journal a reality. We would also like to acknowledge Dr. Anita Shelton, Donna Nichols, the editorial board, those faculty members who helped review articles, and everybody who submitted papers, for without you, there would be no journal.

—Christopher Bailey and Kristen Odell, Co-editors

Exile from England: The Expulsion of the Jews in 1290

Gregg Delgadillo

This article was written by Gregg Delgadillo, a junior with a double major in History and English, for Dr. Michael Shirley's History Research and Writing course, a required methods course in the undergraduate major, in the fall of 2000.

Why did the English crown expel the Jews in 1290? Historians have ascribed economical, ecclesiastical, and political motives to the expulsion of the Jews. This essay examines the relationship between the economy, the church, and the government of thirteenth century England, and her Jewish residents, in order to determine which, if any, had the greatest influence on the expulsion of the Jews, and in order to understand how one group of people—once vital to a nation—could be summarily expelled.

Medieval England was primarily an agricultural society; hence investment in capital did not come readily to them.[1] Yet, because they could not own land in England the only profession in which Jews could participate was money-lending.[2] The kings of England would use the Jews as a way of indirectly taxing their servants. The king could tax the Jews, which in turn would cause the Jews to demand payment on their loans from their debtors. If the Jews and their debtors could

[1]W.J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* (New York, 1905), 155.

[2]Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1896), 241.

amass the necessary funds, then the king had his revenue. If the Jews could not secure the tax, then the king could imprison them and seize their property. This property was in many cases the deeds to land, which debtors had used as collateral. Therefore, the king, through the taxation of the Jews, was able to enhance his absolute power. In 1230, Henry III requested £6000 for army pay.[3] In 1236, ten of the richest Jews were used as a security deposit to force their brethren to pay £10,000. In 1240, the Jews were called upon to pay a tax of £20,000 or about one-third of their property. When the Jews refused to pay, the crown took their property as payment for the tax and arrested them, along with their wives and children. In 1251, a new tax of £10,000 was issued. Between 1227 and 1259, Henry III taxed the Jews of England £250,000. The historian Cecil Roth claimed "The King [Henry III] was like a spendthrift with a cheque-book, drawing one amount after another in utter indifference to the dwindling of his resource."[4] In partial defense of Henry, the Jewish exchequer—the department of the royal government that dealt with keeping track of the finances of Jews—was not very efficient, and so it was difficult for Henry to get a good assessment of what he could tax his Jewish servants. Moreover, the prevailing stereotype that the word Jew was synonymous with wealth may have blinded Henry.

The Jews continued as moneylenders until 1274 when King Edward returned from a crusade. The crusades had ironically allowed the Jews to make a great deal of money.[5] The Jews did this by lending money to

[3]Michael Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* (London, 1939), 147.

[4]Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1949), 44-6, 51.

[5]W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce: during the early and middle ages*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1905), 205.

the English knights who wanted to wage war against the Muslims in the East. Moreover, monasteries borrowed money as well to create new churches.[6] In one instance, "27 pounds were borrowed from a Jew and 4 years later 880 pounds were owed."[7] When Edward returned from the East, he created *The Statute of the Jewry*. In the statute, Edward dictated, "from henceforth no Jew shall lend anything at usury, either upon land, or upon rent, or upon other thing."[8] This was a severe blow to the Jews of England. The statute further attacked the Jews, proclaiming "that each one after he should be twelve years old, pay Three pence yearly at Easter of tax to the king of whose bond man he is."[9] Roth argued that although Edward I was pious and denounced the borrowing of money he continued to exact taxes upon the Jews until they had nothing left to give.[10] Roth may have a good point here. Edward's piety is perhaps evident in his willingness to go on Crusades. But how much of Edward's decision was based on his piety? In his *Statute of the Jewry*, Edward denounced money lending, but he continued to tax the Jews, who Roth claimed had been "reduced to pawnbrokers."[11] Consequently, the unceasing taxes decimated the Jewish communities' ability to survive. Furthermore, the legislation in the s*tatute* did not allow the Jews to practice usury, thereby making it impossible for the Jews to their position as the chief moneylenders of England.[12]

[6]Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, 155.

[7]Ibid.

[8]*The Statute of the Jewry*; quoted in Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262-1290* (Cambridge, 1998), 291-3.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 72.

[11]Ibid., 66.

[12]*Statute of the Jewry*; quoted in Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 291-3.

In the thirteenth century, the English accepted foreign artisans into their land and participated in foreign trade abroad. Christianity was the bridge that made it possible for the English to conduct business with aliens.[13] Unfortunately for the Jews, England's improved foreign relations allowed relations with Italian moneylenders, who maneuvered their way around the usury laws. They would offer loans with grace periods. When these grace periods elapsed, normal interest would accrue. This payment of interest could be written off as an expense for the sending of the money.[14] In addition, as long as Italian merchants allowed these grace periods, they were allowed to loan money at 60% annual interest, 17% higher than Jewish moneylenders.[15] The *Statute of the Merchants*, or Acton Burnell (1283), gave foreign merchants avenues of relief to which Jewish moneylenders never had access. The statute stated that merchants arriving in ports could take up their claim of debt with the mayor. The first trip to the mayor would result in a date by which the debtor had to repay the mayor. If the merchant was not paid by this date, the mayor had the power to sell the property of the debtor to repay the merchant.[16] The *Statute of the Merchants* was a way for Edward to keep his new moneylenders happy. After Italian financiers moved in and took the position of moneylenders to the Crown, however, the Jews of England were made obsolete.[17]

Because of their economic obsolescence, the next logical action would be to expel the Jews from England. A new allegation would help to speed this

[13]Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 200.

[14]Ibid., 208.

[15]Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, 200.

[16]*Statutes Of The Realm*; quoted in Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, 200.

[17]Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 244.

process along. The Jews were accused of clipping coins. In this process the coin is clipped or filed down, and the clippings or filings are melted down into bullion.[18] It was this allegation that led Edward I to order every Jew in England arrested. Six hundred Jews were arrested and over two hundred were found guilty and hanged.[19] The Jews of England had been reduced to a state of squalor by the heavy taxations of Henry III. Furthermore, they could not recoup themselves because of the harsh usury legislation that was passed. Indeed, the idea of expelling the Jews from England was not an entirely new one for Edward. He had expelled the Jews from Gascony (France) in 1286. But what could be the most influential document pertaining to the expulsion of the Jews from England was *Charles of Anjou's Edict of Expulsion*—expelling the Jews from the whole of Charles's kingdom—in 1289. The edict proclaims, "Although we enjoy much temporal profit from the aforesaid Jews, we prefer to provide for the peace of our subjects rather than to fill our coffers with the mammon iniquity."[20] The edict states that money obtained from the Jews, is not worth as much as the peace of their subjects. However, the edict also states that subjects "worthy of trust who live and dwell within the confines of those counties it has been conceded to us freely and without duress that we ought receive from each hearth three schillings once only and from each wage earner six pence once only, as some recompense for the profit we lose through the aforesaid expulsions."[21] This is an intriguing way for Charles to make a deal with his subjects; they provide him with a little money and he banishes the blasphemers

[18]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 74.

[19]Ibid., 75.

[20]*Charles of Anjou's Edict of Expulsion* (1289); quoted in Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 299-302.

[21]Ibid.

from their land. However, the section of the edict that Edward might have found most interesting is: "Their goods shall be turned to the lords."[22] If Edward was aware of Charles edict it would provide him with case law for the expulsion of the Jews and the confiscation of their land. Of course, this was not the only reason for the expulsion of the Jews from England.

The ecclesiastical influence upon Edward to expel the Jews from England dates from the fourth Lateran Council, convened at Rome in 1215, which discussed Christian resources being siphoned away by Jewish usury. This council also decided that Jews could not hold public office because the council claimed it would be wrong for a non-believer of Christ to hold power over believers of Christ. The council also decided that Jews were to wear badges.[23] The *Statute of the Jewry* in 1275 reinforced this: "each Jew after he shall be seven years old, Shall wear a badge on his outer garment."[24] The fourth Lateran council was "renewed at synods at Worcester in 1240, at Chichester some six years later, at Salisbury in about 1256, and at Exeter in 1287."[25] The fourth Lateran Council, which would help widen the schism between Jew and Christian, was led by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216). Historian Israel Abrahams asserts that before the rule of Innocent III, relationships between Jews and Christians were friendly; Jews and Christians spoke and dressed the same.[26] However, the Abrahams's argument has some holes. In

[22]Ibid.

[23]Edward Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), 105.

[24]*Statute of the Jewry*; quoted in Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 291-3.

[25]Bernard Susser, *The Jews of South-West England: The Rise and the Decline of their Medieval and Modern Communities* (Exeter, 1993), 15.

[26]Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 424.

1190, at the crowning of Richard, a terrible massacre took place. A Christian poet described the massacre.

> And midst noble presents, that hither came also
> The wretched wicked Jews that weaned well to do
> And a rich present that they prepared with great pride
> And sent it to the noble king, but small thanks them betide!
> For the king was somewhat vexed, and took it for great shame
> That from such unclean things as them any meat to him came.[27]

The animosity expressed in this poem by the poet towards the Jews, at an event when innocent Jews were killed, is startling. Surely this is not Abraham's idea of friendly relations between Christians and Jews. A Jewish man, Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, also described the massacre:

> and they went to fall upon them and slay them and their maidservants in their houses, and they slew about thirty men and some of the remainder slew themselves and their children[28]

These two men saw the same thing and witnessed two entirely different things. This evidence leads me to disagree with the argument that Jews and Christians had friendly relations before the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, Abrahams's argument that the dress code highlighted distinctions between the adherents of

[27]Robert of Gloucester; quoted in Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, 106-7.

[28]Ephraim B. Joseph of Bonn (London, 1893); quoted in Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, 107-8.

the two religions is more likely accurate. Also of historical importance is a letter from Pope Innocent IV in 1244 to the all archbishops, including those of Canterbury and York, which states that the Jews were, "ungrateful to the lord Jesus Christ who, His forebearance overflowing, patiently awaits their conversion."[29] Ten years later, Henry III established the *Domus Conversorum*, the only home for converts founded by a king.[30]

The Church, at first, turned a blind eye to Jewish usury; because of their religion they did not have to follow the same theological maxims that Christians did.[31] This would change however, beginning with King Edward's return home in 1274. Pope Gregory X urged Christians—throughout the known world—not to participate in usury and take action against those that do.[32] The historian W.J. Ashley claims that the punishments the church could prescribe did not affect Jews, that is, exclusion from communion and refusal of a Christian burial. Usury would not end until "sovereigns could show self-denial and cruelty enough to drive them [the Jews] out of the kingdom altogether like Edward in 1290."[33] While sovereigns would have to be cruel. Edward's decision probably had little to do with self-denial of monies from Jews; at the time of their banishment the Jews were contributing a pittance to the royal coffers due to the legislation of the *Statute of Jewry*.

Perhaps the single biggest Papal incitement to the expulsion of the Jews came from Pope Honorius IV.

[29]*Letters from Pope Innocent IV 1244*; quoted in Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*, 112.

[30]Adler, *Jews of Medieval England*, 281.

[31]Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, 156.

[32]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 68-9.

[33]Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, 156.

In a letter to all Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1286, Pope Honorius stated, "the Jews of England studious readers of the Talmud rather than of Moses, were attempting to seduce Catholics to Judaism and converts to relapse." Pope Honorius further pronounced, "the Jews of England, live with, and corrupted, Christians, they induced converted Jews to live in localities where they were not known and where, therefore, it would be safe to return to their foreign allegiance."[34] The Pope went on to condemn the English leaders and their actions.[35] This is an interesting letter because one of the key worries of the Pope is unfounded. Pope Honorius claimed, "they induced converted Jews to live in localities where they were not known." However, according to the *Statute of the Jewry* of 1275, all Jews were only allowed to live in a few urban centers.[36] Furthermore, one historian claims that Edward's attack on the Jews was "instigated" by the church.[37] Charles of Anjou's edict may have influenced Edward I in its reference to the church as well:

> In many locales of the land, numerous Jews, enemies of the life giving cross and all Christianity, dwelling randomly and publicly among Christians and deviating from the way of truth, subvert many of both sexes who are considered adherents of the Christian faith.

Edward now had two very good reasons to expel the Jews from England: economic and ecclesiastical.

[34]Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*, 121.

[35]Ibid., 122.

[36]*Statute of the Jewry*; quoted in Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 291-3.

[37]Adler, *Jews of Medieval England*, 95.

With two solid reasons for expelling the Jews, Edward needed only the strong arm of political righteousness to pitch his Jewish subjects into the sea. Edward I stated in *The Statute of the Jewry*: "And the King Granteth unto them that they may gain their living by lawful merchandise and their labor; and that they may have intercourse with Christians, in order to carry on lawful trade by selling and buying." He also stated that "And that they may take and buy farms or land for the term of ten years or less."[38] Of course, this radical attempt by King Edward to inject the Jews into English society was neither well planned nor successful. There were several reasons this part of the *Statute* failed the Jews: in the towns trading was allowed only to the burgesses, which the Jews could not enter because they were considered the "Kings vassals"; they could not join the trade or craft guilds because the guilds thought "presupposed feelings of social sympathy was absent between Jew and Christian"; the Jews were not protected by the *Statute of the Merchants* like foreign merchants, and finally the vocation of agriculture was new to the Jew.[39] In addition, according to the historian Cunningham, because the Jews were hated it was impossible for them to take up ordinary work and they had to prepare for attacks. For example "the ancient house at Lincoln seems to suggest by its plan and arrangement that the inhabitants were prepared to stand a siege."[40] In this kind of atmosphere Edward's allowing the Jews into ordinary pursuits was clearly of limited benefit to them.

[38]*Charles of Anjou's Edict of Expulsion;* quoted in Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 299-302.

[39]B.L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290* (Oxford), 35.

[40]Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 201.

Besides his statute, there were other forces acting on the king as well. During the Barons' war and preceding it, Jews were seen as symbols of royal power. The masses found an easier target to abuse in the Jew, than in the King.[41] Roth claimed that Simon de Montfort took the lead against the Jews, seeing in them the power of Royal absolutism (because through the Jews, the king could tax indirectly) and also his own demise (de Montfort owed large sums of money to Jewish moneylenders).[42] An excellent example of both the Jews representing absolute authority, and de Montfort's own debt to the Jews can be seen in the case of David of Oxford. According to the historian Maddicott "in July [of 1244], he [de Montfort] was pardoned a further debt of 110 pounds, owed to the great Jewish moneylender, David of Oxford, whose recent death had brought many of his loans into the Kings hands."[43] King Edward triumphed over de Montfort and reestablished the Jewish moneylenders for a while. However, Abrahams asserted it was Edward's genius that had centralized England and that ultimately led to the expulsion of the Jews.[44] The Jews could no longer play one region against another. A similar situation occurred in Spain where the Jews survived in both Aragon and Castile and met their demise with the unification of the Spanish Crown.[45]

Edward could do whatever he pleased with the Jews, and he did so in 1290 when he expelled them from England. On 18 July, "writs were [sent] to the sheriffs of the various English counties, informing them that a decree had been issued ordering all Jews to leave England before the forthcoming feast of All Saints

[41]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 63.
[42]Ibid., 57.
[43]J.R. Maddicott, *Simon De Montfort* (Cambridge), 33.
[44]Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 401.
[45]Ibid., 306.

(November 1st); any who remained in the country after the prescribed day were declared liable to the death penalty."[46] In less than a year, 16,000 men, women and children were dispersed. To give just one account: "Isabella, who was the wife of Adam de Saint Alban's the younger, those houses and appurtenances in London which belonged to Leo the son of Cresse Son of Master Elias the Jew in the Parish of St. Martin Pomer in Ironmonger Lane through the exile of said Jew from out realm as our escheats remaining in our hands, and which are valued at four pounds."[47] Acts such as this were common after the expulsion of the Jews from England.

Historians have proposed many reasons why and when the Jews were expelled from England. Abrahams claims the Jews were never liked by the English and had nothing in common with them.[48] Roth agrees and claims that one way to solve the Jewish problem was to acknowledge them as social equals; he asserts, "[t]his, however, was a conception which could not have occurred to the mind of Jews or Christians in the 13th century."[49] Therefore, it is Cunningham's observation that religious persecution which forced the Jews to dress differently and to obey strict rules, served no other purpose than to widen the gulf between Jew and Christian.[50] And perhaps Bernard Susser is the most accurate when he states that political minds were not advanced enough at the time to accept people of different religious faiths as equals.[51] The factors

[46]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 85.
[47]Grant by King Endward I; quoted in Adler, *The Jews of Medieval England*, 275.
[48]B.L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290*, 79.
[49]Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 76.
[50]Cunningham, *Growth of English Commerce and Industry*, 286.
[51]Susser, *The Jews of South-West England*, 19.

therefore which had the greatest impact were religious persecution and economics, which played a role in the expulsion of the Jews, insofar as after the Jews had ceased to be able to lend money the Crown no longer had reason to keep the Jews around. Economic obsolescence and bigotry forced the Jewish population from England.

The *Formula of Concord* (1576-80) and *Satis Est*

Nicholas Hoppmann

Nicholas Hoppmann is a senior history major at Eastern Illinois University. He wrote this paper for Dr. David Smith's undergraduate Western Civilization since the Reformation survey class in the spring of 2000.

Article VII of the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) has long guided Lutherans in their attempts to bring together the denominations. It defines the one holy catholic church, of which all true Christians are members, doctrinally, stating that the church is a gathering where "the Gospel is taught purely and the sacraments are administered rightly." Article VII's *satis est* states, "it is sufficient for the true unity of the Christian church that the gospel be preached in conformity with a pure understanding of it and that the sacraments be administered in accordance with the divine word."[52] And yet, the Lutheran Confessions of the sixteenth century condemned the teachings of other Reformation churches as well as the Papacy. Lutherans hope that by participating in discussions with the descendants of these sixteenth-century churches, doctrinal agreements will be reached that will render the Lutheran anathemas obsolete. This process has raised many important questions about the *satis est*. One of the most important questions is: how do the many other

[52]*The Book of Concord*, trans. Theodore G. Trappert (Philadelphia, 1959), 32.

doctrines presented in the Lutheran Confessions relate to the doctrine of *satis est*?

Recently the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA, the largest Lutheran Church body in the United States), which subscribes to the Lutheran Confessions (contained in *The Book of Concord*), has declared that several Calvinist Churches are orthodox. Instead of achieving unity on the one issue over which Luther condemned Zwingli at Marburg in 1529, the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist,[53] *A Formula of Agreement* between the ELCA and Calvinist Churches states, "while remaining differences must be acknowledged, even to the extent of their irreconcilability, it is the inherent unity in Christ that is determinative. Thus, the remaining differences are not church dividing."[54] The Lutherans who have subscribed to this statement have not renounced their subscription to the Lutheran Confessions. They believe that even though the Calvinist Churches involved in the agreement still teach doctrines specifically condemned by the Lutheran Confessions,[55] those Churches satisfy the *satis*

[53]Keith F. Nickle and Timothy F. Lull, eds., *A Common Calling: The Witness of Our Reformation Churches in North America Today* (Minneapolis, 1993), 41.

[54]*A Formula of Agreement between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Reformed Church America and the United Church of Christ on Entering into Full Communion on the Basis of "A Common Calling"* (Louisville, 1997), 5.

[55]The Heidelberg Catechism, used to instruct confirmation students in many of the Calvinist Churches involved in the agreement, states, "the bread of the Lord's Supper is not…the actual body of Christ even though it is called the body of Christ." Nor does the statement "In the Lord's Supper the risen Christ imparts himself in body and blood, given up for all, through his word of promise with bread and wine (Nickle, *A Common Calling*, 49)," necessarily preclude an understanding of the Lord's Supper condemned by the Lutheran Confessions (*The Book of Concord*, 570).

est of the *Augsburg Confession*. These theologians have attempted to interpret the "gospel," described in *satis est*, as a vague "inherent unity in Christ." Is this interpretation correct?

While historical research cannot answer theological questions concerning the true nature of the Gospel or the correct relationship between various doctrines, it can help us to understand the motivations of the men who wrote the Lutheran Confessions, and provide us with *their* answers to such questions. The *Formula of Concord* contains the most specific condemnations of Calvinism found in the Lutheran Confessions. Its authors believed that churches that held doctrines condemned by the Lutheran Confessions, should not be recognized as part of the catholic church. The events that led to the *Formula's* creation, and the *Formula's* statements themselves, prove this thesis.

During 1576 and 1577 German Lutheran theologians composed the *Formula of Concord*. By that time doctrinal debates had plagued the church of the *Augsburg Confession* for almost thirty years. The princes of the German lands commissioned their theologians to construct a document that could be used as a norm for preaching in the churches of their territories. For late sixteenth-century German Lutherans the *Formula of Concord* defined the Gospel, describing certain doctrines as doctrines of the catholic (world-wide true) church and other doctrines as outside the catholic church.

With Martin Luther's death in 1546, the Lutheran Church had lost its generally recognized leader. The Germans looked to Phillip Melanchthon as the new leader of the Lutheran movement. He was strongly influenced by Humanism and used that tradition to help Luther learn the biblical languages. Melanchthon also authored the *Augsburg Confession*, its

Apology (1531), and the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* (1537), to which the *Formula of Concord* would subscribe.

Melanchthon's Humanist background, however, pulled him away from Luther in several ways. First, Luther's view of the bondage of the will stood in contrast to Melanchthon's Humanist feelings about human potential. Luther felt that the human will was completely corrupt and unable to play any role in conversion. Melanchthon taught that the human will played a role in conversion. Second, Melanchthon was willing to compromise certain points of doctrine for the sake of peace. Luther lived during a period when Charles V was unable to spend resources to confront the Reformation. Shortly following Luther's death, Charles split the Schmalkaldic League and routed the German princes. Melanchthon wrote the *Leipzig Interim* in 1548, which compromised Lutheran doctrines (which Luther had refused to compromise) in an attempt to placate Charles. Melanchthon's fear for the safety of the people became a powerful force in his theological and political decisions until his death in 1560. He most clearly illustrated this fact in his dealing with Calvinists, with whom Melanchthon desired to form a united Protestant front.

Melanchthon's compromises gave rise to the Gnesio-Lutherans, led by Matthias Flacius, who claimed to be the adherents of Luther's teachings and refused to compromise with Catholics or Calvinists. A number of controversies plagued the Lutheran Church over the next decades. The Adiaphoristic Controversy of 1548-52 pitted Flacius against Melanchthon. They disagreed about which practices and doctrines could be compromised and which were not negotiable. In the mid-1550s arguments broke out over the relationship of good works played to salvation. The Lord's Supper

remained a focal point of doctrinal debate in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The Gnesio-Lutherans debated the Calvinists over the actual bodily or merely spiritual presence of Christ while the Phillipists (followers of Melanchthon) urged compromise.[56]

As the Lutheran Church splintered, Calvinism grew stronger. In the mid-sixteenth century Calvinism spread throughout Europe. At the Diet of Evangelical Princes at Frankfurt in 1558, the princes pushed for a Phillipist understanding of doctrine that could lead to alliance with Calvinist territories. In 1559 Duke Johann Friedrich the Middlerer of Saxony commissioned Flacius to write the *Book of Confutation* in opposition to the growing tolerance of Calvinism. The Diet at Naumburg, in 1561, adopted the *Augsburg Confession* of 1530 as well as the altered version of 1540 in which Melanchthon softened the language concerning the Lord's Supper to allow for inclusion of Calvinists under the Confession. In 1563 the Lutheran Church in the Palatinate officially adopted Calvin's *Heidelberg Catechism*. The *Second Helvetic Confession* of 1566 unified the Calvinist Church beyond national boundaries. Calvinism achieved a unity that the Lutheran Church did not have, gained former Lutheran territories, and advanced its doctrine in lands that remained Lutheran.

The great question for the Lutheran princes and theologians was how to relate to Catholicism and Calvinism. Melanchthon's theology could be described as more Roman Catholic than Luther's. His belief that the human will played a role in conversion agreed with the Thomistic theology of the late medieval Catholic

[56]Irene Dingle, "The Echo of Controversy: Casper Fruger's Attempt to Propagate the Formula of Concord Among the Common People," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995): 518.

Church, which stressed the role of the human will and works in salvation. Luther's disagreement with Thomistic theology on the causes of conversion was closely tied to his belief in *sola gratia*. *Sola gratia* meant that human beings were entirely enslaved to sin, and that God saved them solely through his infused grace without any human merit. Many Lutherans, including many of Melanchthon's followers, believed that Melanchthon's theology of conversion was not Lutheran. They felt that the opposing Catholic and Lutheran doctrines of human potential were legitimate grounds for the continued independence of the Lutheran Church. Politically, the Peace of Augsburg left little reason for Lutherans to desire a reunion with the Church of Rome. These factors combined with the Counter-reformation, caused Lutherans to continue their historical condemnation of Catholicism.

The more difficult question was the relationship of Lutheranism to Calvinism. Lutherans could have joined the Calvinists in a united Protestant Church, remained separate but allowed for doctrinal plurality and mutual recognition, or they could have condemned Calvinism and attempted to purge it from Lutheran Churches.

To understand how the doctrine presented in the *Formula* related to the conditions necessary for the unity of the catholic church, an understanding of the events at Naumburg in 1561 is essential.[57] At Naumburg the Lutheran princes attempted to reach consensus in their churches by defining "the gospel," as described in *satis est*, in vague terms without regard for historical doctrinal disagreements. Instead of declaring adherence to the

[57]Ernst Koch, "Striving for the Union of Lutheran Churches: The Church-Historical Background of the Work Done on the Formula of Concord at Magdeburg," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8 (1977): 112-3.

original *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, favored by the Gnesio-Lutherans, or the altered pro-Calvinist version of 1540, favored by the Phillipists, the princes accepted both. But the princes misjudged the convictions of their theologians and received harsh rebukes upon return to their homes. The theologians believed the agreement was noncommittal and that controversy and discord would continue. Most lords withdrew their support for the agreement reached at Naumburg. Lutheran theologians had refused to recognize doctrinal vagueness as conducive to church unity.

In the aftermath of Naumburg it became apparent that Lutheran theologians would not accept doctrinal plurality. The *Formula* stood in contrast to the Naumburg agreement. Theologians, not princes, composed the *Formula*, which resulted in direct and specific doctrinal condemnations where Naumburg had attempted to sooth differences.

As part of the German princes' continuing attempt to unify the Lutheran Church, in 1576 Elector August of Saxony commissioned Jacob Andreae to organize a team of theologians from the Holy Roman Empire's Lutheran principalities for the purpose of writing a confession that would bring an end to internal disagreements. The group led by Andreae had a very pro-Luther, anti-Calvinist, and anti-Melanchthonian point of view. It contained many of Melanchthon's former students, but they had all distanced themselves from their master's views on human potential and the toleration of Calvinism.

These six men met in Torgua in 1576. The group composed what would eventually become the Epitome of the *Formula of Concord*, which condemned many of the radical teachings of the opposing Lutheran parties and sharply attacked Calvinism. They then sent the Epitome to all the Lutheran principalities of the Holy

Roman Empire to be examined by the various princes' theologians and returned with suggestions. After the critiques returned, the authors explained the Epitome further, in 1577, by writing the Solid Declaration. They then sent it out for subscription in the various principalities.

As we shall see, the *Formula* condemned the radical teachings of the Phillipist and Gnesio-Lutherans, and sided with Luther in areas where his theology conflicted with Melanchthon's. The *Formula*'s authors condemned Calvin's teachings in areas they believed Calvin's theology conflicted with Luther's and adopted only the original 1530 edition of the *Augsburg Confession*, which, they believed, condemned the Calvinist doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Since 1577 there have been many interpretations about how the *Formula* relates to and defines the catholic church. David Truemper states that according to the *Formula of Concord*, the preaching of the gospel and the administration and distribution of the sacraments were sufficient for the unity of the catholic church. This statement agrees with the *satis est* of the *Augsburg Confession* (a confession which the *Formula's* authors intended to clarify, and to which the *Formula* subscribed).[58] But Truemper then states that, according to the *Formula*, agreement in doctrine *about* the gospel and the sacraments is not necessary for that unity.[59] Truemper fails to clarify the relationship of the other doctrines of the Formula to its allegiance to the *Augsburg Confession*'s *satis est*.[60] He allows a

[58]*The Book of Concord*, 32.

[59]David G. Truemper, "The Catholicity of the Augsburg Confession: CA VII and FC X on the Grounds for the Unity of the Church," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980): 12.

[60]*The Book of Concord*, 504, 616. On these pages, the *Formula* declares subscription to the *Augsburg Confession* and restates *satis est*.

dichotomy to be setup, in which only the *Formula*'s subscription to *satis est* is relevant to the unity of the catholic church, and the rest of the *Formula* merely contains doctrines *about* the gospel and the sacraments. This would be an accurate historical interpretation of the agreement temporarily reached at Naumburg. It is not an accurate historical interpretation of the *Formula*.

The theologians and princes responsible for the conception of the *Formula of Concord* believed Lutheran preachers in the 1550s-70s preached contradictory doctrines. That reason, not any belief that preachers disagreed in matters indifferent for the unity of the catholic church, led to the creation of the *Formula*. When the *Formula* spoke of doctrines, it meant pieces of the Gospel. The first paragraph of the Epitome stated that the Old and New Testaments were the rule and norm for judging doctrines and then cited a statement of Paul from the New Testament concerning contrary gospels.[61] This paragraph made sense only if "doctrine" and "Gospel" were understood as synonymous. The *Formula* spoke of "the pure doctrine of the Gospel."[62] It described the churches loyal to the *Augsburg Confession*: "they formulate Christian doctrine on the basis of God's word."[63] The *Formula* simply used the word "doctrine" to describe specific proclamations of the Gospel.

Many sections of the *Formula* illustrate that its doctrines and condemnations of other doctrines are attempts to define the gospel. Article XI addressed God's eternal election of his chosen. It stated, "we should accustom ourselves not to speculate concerning

[61]Ibid., 464.

[62]Ibid., 503.

[63]Ibid., 505.

the absolute, secret, hidden and inscrutable foreknowledge of God." It then encouraged, "we should consider the counsel, purpose, and ordinance of God in Christ Jesus, who is the genuine and true 'book of life' as it is revealed to us through the Word."[64] The authors referred to their own doctrine of eternal election as "profitable and comforting to the person who concerns himself with the revealed will of God,"[65] while stating, regarding the condemned teaching, "disconsolate Christians can find no comfort in this doctrine but are driven to doubt and despair."[66] Truemper shows that the chief article of the gospel according to the *Formula* is God's all encompassing grace and forgiveness through Jesus Christ.[67] Therefore, the *Formula* condemned the view of God's eternal election which it believed could not comfort Christians. The *Formula* did not believe that one doctrine was simply better or more useful than the other; it stated that the condemned teaching was not a part of the Gospel. The *Formula* stated that the condemned teaching was the opposite of the gospel "not teaching the doctrine according to the will of God ...[but] under the direction of the devil, since everything in Scripture, as St. Paul testifies,
was written for our instruction that by steadfastness and encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope."[68] The doctrine of God's eternal election was one of the many parts of the Gospel that the *Formula of Concord* attempted to clarify for the catholic church.

The central area of disagreement between Lutheranism and Calvinism was the Lord's Supper. The authors' handling of the dispute in the *Formula* shows

[64]Ibid., 618-19.
[65]Ibid., 495.
[66]Ibid., 497.
[67]Ibid., 504, 616.
[68]Ibid., 497.

that they did not make Truemper's distinction between the Gospel and statements about the Gospel. According to the *Formula*, the words of Christ's institution were the foundation of the Lord's Supper and what truly made it a sacrament. Article VII quoted Luther's *Large Catechism*, "The Word, I say, is what makes this sacrament and so distinguishes it that it is not mere bread and wine but is and is called Christ's body and blood."[69] The Lutheran princes felt they needed the *Formula* to bring about consensus (concord) over the Lord's Supper. In the portions of the Lutheran church that the Gnesio-Lutherans described as Crypto-Calvinist, the clergy had taught that the word's of institution, "This is my body…," were to be taken figuratively.[70] The clergy had interpreted the foundation of the sacrament, Christ's words, in two different and mutually exclusive manners. One camp held that the words "This is" meant, "This signifies," while the other felt that "This is" meant, "This is." The fact that both parties used the same words did not convince the authors that both were preaching the Gospel. To the literal view the *Formula* subscribed, to the former it stated, "we reject and condemn with heart and mouth as false, erroneous, and deceiving all Sacramentarian opinions and doctrines."[71] Truemper's analysis fails to clarify this point. What the authors believed to be the foundation of the sacrament was nothing other than a statement *about* the sacrament, that Christ's body and blood were present in the bread and wine. They felt that a change in the teaching about the words of institution was not consistent with "the Gospel

[69]Ibid., 573.
[70]Ibid., 570.
[71]Ibid., 589.

…in its purity,"[72] which the *Augsburg Confession* stated was necessary for the unity of the "Christian church."[73]

If the dichotomy allowed by Truemper's analysis sets too tight a limit on the many doctrines of the *Formula* in relation to the unity of the catholic church, what are the limits its authors intended? First, the *Formula* recognized its temporal limitations. Its authors allowed for future clarifications of the Gospel, which would equal future clarifications of *satis est*. The authors of the *Formula* pledged allegiance to the Apostle's, Nicene and Athanasian Creeds as "the glorious confessions of the faith—succinct, Christian, and based upon the Word of God—in which all those heresies which at that time had arisen within the Christian church are clearly and solidly refuted."[74] The *Formula* saw the Creeds as proper responses for their times and aimed to be the same kind of response in the late sixteenth-century German lands, to doctrines it believed to be current heresies. In the Preface, the princes pledged, "If the current controversies about our Christian religion should continue or new ones arise, we shall see to it that they are settled and composed"[75] Late sixteenth-century German Lutherans saw confession as an ongoing process that was as old as the church itself and would not end with the *Formula*'s publication.

The *Formula* stated that it wished to introduce no new teachings, but to return to the truth that had been obscured by the papists and enthusiasts. It stated, "We have from our hearts and with our mouths declared in mutual agreement that we shall neither prepare nor accept a different or new confession of our faith."[76] The

[72]Ibid., 616.
[73]Ibid., 32.
[74]Ibid., 504.
[75]Ibid., 14.
[76]Ibid., 503.

authors subscribed to the ancient creeds because they believed that the *Formula's* doctrines agreed with every truly Christian doctrine ever articulated. The princes ordered their theologians to write the *Formula* because they believed that the word of God needed to be clarified in the midst of the current controversies. They believed that times had changed and previously undisputed teachings had been assailed. The Apostle's Creed did not discuss the issue of whether or not Christ's body and blood were actually present in the wine and bread, because the church universally held such a doctrine. As far as the authors of the *Formula* knew, the meaning of the term "dead,"[77] used in reference to man's lack of natural ability to believe in God, might be attacked in the future, just as the meaning of "is" in the words of institution had changed in the sixteenth century. It must be remembered that the Germans felt the *Formula* was necessary only forty-five years after the presentation of the *Augsburg Confession*. The *Formula* was not an attempt to make a final and complete confession. It was seen as useful in the German lands of the 1570s for ending the disputes that were occurring in the Lutheran Church and in bringing about concord. The authors state, "we introduce and cite these writings as a witness to the truth and as exhibiting the unanimous and correct understanding of our predecessors who remained steadfastly in the pure doctrine."[78] They saw the *Formula*, like the Gospel, as timelessly true, but the *Formula's* specific task as historically relative.

Its authors placed a second limit on the *Formula's* in relation to *satis est*. They did not hold its adoption by churches as necessary for their inclusion in the catholic church. The princes wanted it to be adopted

[77]Ibid., 522.
[78]Ibid., 506.

by the portion of the catholic church, in the Holy Roman Empire, known
as the Evangelical Church (the name of the German Lutheran Church). The doctrinal disputes took place in the Lutheran Church, and the *Formula* targeted the Lutheran Church. The princes of the German lands that called for concord pledged to enforce the *Formula's* doctrines in their respective churches. Elizabeth I sent word to the princes at Naumburg that she believed all Protestants should form a united front against the Pope; the Germans ignored her. This event helps illustrate the fact that the princes wanted to unify their churches, not churches outside their jurisdiction. They did not even include any Lutheran theologians from outside the Holy Roman Empire among the *Formula's* authors, nor did they send the Epitome anywhere other than German principalities when they sent it out to be critiqued. The authors of the *Formula* did not define the catholic church as the group of churches that subscribed to it.

Churches that did not subscribe to the *Formula* could still be included in the unity of the catholic church. The Rule and Norm (introduction) spoke of the churches of the *Augsburg Confession*, and stated that the Scriptures, Creeds, *Augsburg Confession*, and Luther's writings should be used to settle disputes in *those* churches, because of the universal recognition they had received before the current disputes arose. Some of those documents were irrelevant to other churches throughout the world.

The *Formula* stated what its authors believed to be the pure doctrine of the Gospel necessary for the unity and existence of the catholic church, as defined by the *Augsburg Confession's satis est*. The *Formula's* language was historically and culturally relative. Its adoption was politically and ecclesiastically relative. However, its authors felt that it was no less than a

current proclamation of the timeless Gospel and fell into the same category as the *Augsburg Confession* it intended to clarify and called, "a genuinely Christian symbol which all true Christians ought to accept"[79] Churches whose doctrines contradicted any doctrine of the *Formula* were not to be recognized as fellow members of the catholic church. The sixteenth-century German Lutherans who wrote the *Formula of Concord* believed that all of its doctrines were explanations of what *satis est* called "the gospel."

The Nature of the Beast: Satan Portrayed in Seventeenth Century English Ballads

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Early modern England social historians have observed a dichotomy between a popular and an elite culture. In addition to differences in wealth and opportunity, the two ends of the cultural spectrum reveal different views of reality despite a common national identity. An historian can study the writings of the highly educated, elite component of English society and

[79]Ibid., 502.

reconstruct their religious beliefs, but these tenets may not be held by the majority of the less-educated English population. Thus, in order to understand early modern England as a whole, it is necessary to understand the composition of popular culture and how it may have differed from that of the elite.

A flashpoint for examining this cultural dichotomy is the study of seventeenth-century English perceptions about the Devil and his relations with society. While a great deal of work has been completed with regard to elite views of Satan, it is often more difficult to delineate a popular view of the Devil and reconstruct what the majority of people believed when the available primary source material has often been mediated through the elite-dominated printing process. While unprinted witchcraft confessions might reveal additional insights about Satan, these sources are also mediated in that they are written and potentially influenced by elite culture. To understand the elite view of Satan, historians can access their writings and reconstitute the more educated views of the Prince of Darkness. But the English masses, only a portion of whom may have been able to read and write, rarely left behind written testimonies detailing their religious beliefs.

Printed sources—pamphlets, broadsides, and chapbooks—can still inform us about the people and the obscured beliefs of a past society. One of the most easily recognized and informative sources on popular culture is the ballad. While both the elites and popular cultures had ballads and poetry, one can distinguish the ballads of the popular culture as they were often written in black-letter and carried the cheapest price. It is particularly helpful to recognize that literacy was not restricted to the educated and a large number of the common people were literate. While it is difficult to

generate robust statistics regarding literacy, historians estimate that anywhere between 15 and 60 per cent of the lower classes were capable of reading.[80]

This article explores how ballads written in seventeenth century England portray the Devil. The ballads collected in the *Pepys Ballads*, *Roxburghe Ballads*, and *Pack of Autolycus*, suggest that Satan had a variety of manifestations, only two of which will be explored here. The first one is the relationship between the Devil and witchcraft and the second how the fear of Satan and his temptations served to warn against sin. These ideas will be compared with those presented by major English social historians in order to test their arguments and see how the information collected from ballads can augment their arguments with regard to popular culture and the Devil.

The first area of focus concerns the relationship between the Devil and witchcraft. In *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Keith Thomas distinguishes between popular and elite conceptions of witchcraft based on the presence of Satan. That is, the English intellectuals and clergy defined witchcraft as the union between a witch and Satan through the signing of a diabolical compact that was sealed with the blood of the witch. Thomas also states that the association of Satan with witchcraft may have resulted more from continental influence than indigenous belief on the part of the English clergy. On the other hand, Thomas argues that the common people did not readily accept the Devil's involvement with witchcraft. The only feature of popular belief that could be considered remotely diabolic was the presence of the witch's marks and familiars. According to Thomas, the people probably did not connect Satan with witchcraft and primarily viewed witchcraft as maleficium, or

[80] Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London, 1998), 38-40, 56, 59.

inflicting harm on others through supernatural powers without the use of satanic power.[81]

James Sharpe, in *Instruments of Darkness*, disagrees with Thomas's generalizations by focusing on the East Anglia witch trials of 1645-47. According to Sharpe's argument, these trials challenge the traditional interpretation of English witchcraft that reduces the importance of Satan in the beliefs of popular culture. The confessions given at these trials yield concepts that exceed maleficium and suggest possible associations between witchcraft and Satan at the popular level. While these testimonies could bear the influence of the witch-hunter Matthew Hopkins, Sharpe posits that the witchcraft confessions challenge the view that popular beliefs on witchcraft were non-diabolical and highlight the need for further research.

As confessions come from non-elite members of society and exhibit a covenant between the witch and the Devil that is sealed in blood, Sharpe implies that a redefinition of popular witchcraft beliefs is in order. He is quick to point out, however, that any conclusions drawn from these testimonies are tenuous since beliefs about witchcraft were constantly changing. Despite the weaknesses of the confessions, they do suggest that the division between learned and popular views on witchcraft is an oversimplification and that the populace may have believed Satan was involved with witchcraft.[82]

In his synthesis of early modern England, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750*, Barry Reay reiterates and extends Sharpe's ideas by stating that scholars have traditionally assumed that beliefs on Satan

[81] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), 439, 441-5. Examples of maleficium include causing illnesses, souring milk, and tormenting people in the night.

[82] James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 1997), 130, 134-6, 139.

differed between the popular and elite cultures. Reay disagrees with the dichotomy of popular and elite by claiming that a belief in Satan extended into the popular literature through pamphlets and ballads. Cheap pamphlets and ballads on witchcraft may have bridged any gap that existed between the elites and the less educated parts of society. The ballads of the early and mid-seventeenth century show a belief in demonology and the Devil, which suggests that these printed sources served as inroads into the popular culture whereby learned ideas could take root among the masses. It should be underscored, though, that one of Reay's overarching theory is that the popular-elite dichotomy is less useful to describe early modern England and he stresses the importance of diversity and multiplicity of the culture.[83]

From looking at the secondary sources, one observes that perhaps the literature of popular culture (in this case, ballads) did, indeed, show a connection between witchcraft and Satan. What can the ballads themselves add to this argument? Of the ballads surveyed, four illustrated an association between witches and the Devil. While no concrete conclusions can be extracted from these ballads concerning the ubiquity of Satan in popular witchcraft belief, they do support the arguments presented by Sharpe and Reay, while perhaps slightly contradicting Thomas.

The earliest ballad, *Damnable Practices of Three Lincoln-shire Witches*, was written in 1619 and describes how a mother and two daughters became witches through the influence of the Devil. Satan appears to the three women and offers them unlimited powers and familiars in exchange for their souls. Accepting the terms, these women then sealed the covenant with drops of their own blood.

[83] Reay, *Popular Cultures*, 115-8, 198-9.

And as it seemd they sould their soules,
For service of such Spirits,
And sealing it with drops of blood,
Damnation to inherits.[84]

Thus, by the power of the Devil, these three women were given the power to inflict whatever misery and destruction they saw fit upon the local lords, children and cattle. This ballad, written in black-letter, suggest that popular beliefs in witchcraft could have included conceptions of Satan, thus supporting the assertions of Reay and Sharpe. In addition, this excerpt bolsters a theory proposed by Clive Holmes that popular beliefs included an association between witchcraft and a family blood relationship. According to Holmes, the popular belief was that the female descendants of witches would inherit their unholy powers.[85]

Witchcraft Discovered and Punished, printed in 1682, tells of three women from Devon who are convicted of witchcraft and association with the Devil. These women are said to have sold their souls to Prince of Darkness, but there is no mention of a covenant sealed with blood or any inherited powers. Satan is depicted as the source of the witches' power, but like the ballad about the Lincolne-shire witches, he allows them to use their powers for their own personal desires. To distinguish them as witches, Satan gives them peculiar witch's marks.

And that they had about their bodies strange
And proper Tokens of their wicked change,

[84] *Damnable Practices of three Lincolne-shire Witches* (London, 1619), in *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W.G. Day (Cambridge, 1987), 1: 132-3.

[85] Clive Holmes, "Popular Culture? Witches, Magistrates, and Divines in Early Modern England," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin, 1984), 96-7.

As pledges that, to have their cruel will,
Their Souls they gave unto the Prince of Hell.[86]

Thus, like the previous ballad, one sees the Devil as the benefactor of malevolent power–all for the price of a soul. But there is also the presence of the witch's marks in conjunction with the diabolic pact.

A ballad printed in 1628 called *The Tragedy of Dr. Lambe* provides a different perspective. While the ballad itself focuses on the beating and subsequent death of a conjurer named Dr. Lambe, the ballad mentions how Lambe was continually using powers given to him by the Devil to harass his neighbors. Lambe's pranks and tricks would eventually bring about his demise at the hands of sailors and Satan was powerless to help his servant.

They beate him to the ground,
And meaning to dispatch him,
They gave him many a wound,
The Deuill could not watch him,
to keep him sound.[87]

Like the two previous ballads, this ballad is another example from popular literature where Satan appears in tandem with the practice of witchcraft.

A different perspective of Satan's involvement with humanity through witchcraft comes from a ballad printed in 1670, *The Judgment of God shewed upon one John Faustus*. A variation upon an old legend, the ballad of Dr. Faustus doesn't deal explicitly with witchcraft; however, it does show how one man sold his

[86] *Witchcraft discovered and punished* (1682), in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. J. Woodfall Ebsworth, (Hertford, 1886), 6:706-8.

[87] *The Tragedy of Doctor Lambe* (London, 1628), *The Pepys Ballads*, 1:134-5.

soul to Satan in exchange for worldly success. Like many witchcraft cases, though, Faustus signs his name in his own blood upon the Devil's register.

> Twice did I make my tender flesh to bleed,
> Twice with my blood I wrote the Devil's deed,
> Twice wretchedly I soul and body sold,
> To live in [pleasure], and do what things I would.[88]

The tale of Faustus illustrates the selling of one's soul to Satan for powers in this world. Malcolm Gaskill, in his essay, "Witchcraft and Power in Early Modern England," mentions the story of Faustus as providing a parallel to the witchcraft scenario where the soul is sold in exchange for material gain. Gaskill also suggests that this fictional paradigm pervades every aspect of print culture from high literature to cheap pamphlets and ballads.[89] A certain tension exists in relation to ballads concerning Drs. Lambe and Faustus. Both of these figures would be members of the elite classes; however, they are represented in a typically popular literature. While this raises a questions about which culture is represented in these ballads, the ballads and their black-letter print do represent a popular medium of cultural expression.

Some historians may still espouse a split between a popular and an elite culture, but with regard to the Devil and his associations with witchcraft, ballad evidence readily suggests that perhaps the popular cultures did, indeed, have a conception of the Devil. In

[88] *The Judgment of God shewed upon one John Faustus* (London, 1670), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 6:703-5.

[89] Malcolm Gaskill, "Witchcraft and Power in Early Modern England: The Case of Margaret Moore," in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (Chapel Hill, 1994), 137.

accordance with Reay and Sharpe's interpretations, these ballads illustrate the possibility that the association of Satan with witchcraft was not restricted to the elite culture.

It is important to realize that the Devil also played a role in the religion of the people outside of witchcraft. It can be difficult to delineate a popular view of Satan because of the mutliple subcultures present in England. For example, Christopher Hill in *The World Turned Upside Down* discusses the seventeenth-century Ranters, Quakers, and others, he notes that each of these groups believed in the Devil but characterized him in different ways. Hill argues for some uniform belief, however, as many English people believed in a world where God and Satan constantly intervened.[90] Likewise Reay argues that most ideas of the Devil in a religious context were in relation to death, judgment, and the punishments inflicted by the Devil in Hell. Reay also suggests the difficulties in this approach due to the dynamic nature of religion. It is also Reay's opinion that ballads are excellent sources of information for studying popular religion because they were often a source of information for the public.[91]

Ballads mentioning the Devil in relation to religion support Reay's arguments. In *St. Bernard's Vision*, the soul speaks with the corpse of a recently deceased man. Each blames the other for their earthly sins. This ballad also contains a section where the Devil describes the various punishments that he inflicts upon people for their sins. Some get molten lead poured down their throats, while others are fried in sulfur.[92]

[90] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London, 1991), 87.

[91] Reay, *Popular Cultures*, 76, 94.

[92] *St. Bernard's Vision* (no date), *The Pepys Ballads*, 2: 4-5.

A second manifestation of the Devil in the English ballads was a fear of Satan and how his temptations served to warn against sin. These ballads often served to reinforce morality and warn people against various forms of misbehavior. Keith Thomas briefly mentions Satan's role as a tempter and instrument of God's punishment. He describes the Devil's desire to divert human souls from the path of God, which is an idea repeated several times in the ballads.[93]

Written in 1681, the ballad, *Strange and True News from Westmoreland*, tells the story of Gabriel Hardin's return home from an evening of drinking. Hardin's wife, observing his inebriated state, tries to guide him to bed, but he strikes and kills her. Suddenly, Satan appears to punish this grievous sinner.

> The Devil then he straight laid hold,
> On him that had murdered his wife;
> His neck in sunder then he brake,
> And thus did end his wretched life[94]

Satan appears to the murderer as his judge and executioner, punishing the man for his sin of murder. Satan is also seen as the cause of sin in ballads that warn people away from various sinful activities like drinking, suicide, and swearing.

Other ballads elaborate upon this theme of the Devil as a warning and depict Satan operating under God's permission and alluring people toward sin. Written in 1629, a ballad entitled *A warning for wiues* depicts the story of a wife who murders her husband with a pair of scissors. The ballad warns that the Devil rules women who kill their husbands, and also discusses

[93] Thomas, *Religion*, 473, 495.

[94] *Strange and true News from Westmoreland* (no date for printing), *The Pepys Ballads*, 2:155.

the relationship between God and Satan. Satan seems to work with God's permission to bring about sinful activities on earth.

> She long had thirsted for his blood…,
> And now her promise she made good,
> So heaven gave permission
> To Satan, who then lent her power
> And Strength to do't that bloody houre[95]

A second example of this kind of behavior comes from a ballad written in 1628 about another wife who killed her husband. In *A warning for all desperate Women* a wife kills her husband by stabbing him in the heart. When asked to recount her actions, the wife says she was acting like the Devil and that he gave her the strength to kill her husband.[96] This ballad shows Satan's role as a tempter but does not mention his role as a tool of God.

Besides acting as the catalyst for wives to kill their husbands, the Devil also tempted people to commit suicide. One ballad, written in 1662, tells of George Gibbs taking his own life. The story begins by describing Satan as a tempter who is bringing so many poor souls into sin. The Devil is also shown constantly tempting Gibbs to the point where he's ready to kill himself by ripping open his own abdomen and removing his innards with his hands. Gibbs said he tried to resist Satan's temptations, but he eventually submitted. The ballad ends by warning its audience not to give into the Devil's temptations and to reform their behavior.

> Trust not too much to your own strength
> to God continual pray
> Resist the Divil elce at length,

[95] *A warning for all wiues* (1629), *The Pepys Ballads*, 1:118-9.

[96] *A warning for all desperate Women* (1628), *The Pepys Ballads*, 1:120-1.

hee'l lead you his Broad way[97]

Illustrating sin through Satan's temptations serves as a warning against misbehavior. In *The Devil's Conquest*, a young woman curses, swears, and invokes Satan's name. At one point, she claims the Devil would set her straight if she neglects the work required by her temporal employer. Satan holds her to her word and kills her. The moral was not to swear, curse, or speak the Devil's name in vain.

So to conclude remember still,
Swearing and Cursing ends in woe,
If you let the Devil have his will,
hee'l prove the worst and greatest foe.[98]

A similar lesson is given in *Terrible news from Brentford*, written in 1661. A group of drunken Englishmen gather in a bar and decide to drink a health to the Devil. Upon doing so, the Devil appears and kills each man. Again, Satan's appearance warns against drunken misbehavior.

And keep us still from great excess
of drinking which is evil;
And never in such drunkenness
drink healths unto the Devil.[99]

Finally, a ballad written in 1678, *Sad and dreadful news from Horsleydown*, tells the tale of one Dorothy Winter-bottom, who was renowned for cursing, drinking and multiple other vices. Ultimately, the Devil

[97] *The Devil's cruelty to mankind* (London, 1662), in *The Pack of Autolycus*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, (Cambridge, 1927), 122-5.
[98] *The Devil's conquest* (London, 1665), *The Pack of Autolycus*, 146-50.
[99] *Terrible news from Brentford* (1661), *The Pack of Autolycus*, 75-80.

ends up coming for her and taking her life, but the ballad illustrates how Dorothy's minor sins could become worse through the Devil's influence because small sins open the way for larger ones.

Her vices were many as people express,
Being given to curse and to drink to excess:
Which gave the foul Tempter a way to get in,
And still urge her on for to multiply sin:[100]

In each of these three ballads, the Devil appears as a way of preventing and illustrating various types of sin. These ballads also seem to support the ideas espoused by Thomas and Reay concerning popular religion in seventeenth century England.

While one must exercise caution in drawing concrete conclusions from these ballads, they suggest that the popular belief in Satan associated him with witchcraft and religion as a source of temptation, warning, and punishment. These ballads provide support for and elaborate upon the ideas presented by Barry Reay and James Sharpe, but they also add to provide a new perspective on the research of Keith Thomas and his arguments regarding Satan's involvement in witchcraft. Certainly, the Devil contributes a dynamic and frequenly satirical element within the ballad culture, but, more importantly, the ballads offer a unique opportunity to illuminate how the popular culture in England understood Satan and his role in the world. By looking at these ballads, it is apparent that the Devil represents a method of social control and embodies the punishment for breaking the traditional rules and mores of English society. Drinking, cursing, and violence were all common elements of popular culture, but popular

[100] *Sad and dreadful news from Horsleydown* (London, 1678), *The Pack of Autolycus*, 215-8.

culture also emphasized that they, if not properly moderated, could easily incur the wrath of Satan.

Maidens, Wives, Widows: Women's Roles in the Chesapeake and New England Regions

Melinda Allen

Melinda Allen, a graduate student in History at Eastern Illinois, wrote this paper for Dr. Robert Desrochers's graduate seminar on Early American History. In the spring of 2001, this paper received the Women's Advocacy Council Graduate Writing Award.

During the 1960's and 1970s, social history shined new light on the subject of the English colonies in America. The original thoughts about the colonies stemmed from the New England school, which argued the colonies' culture developed in New England and was similar to that of England. Changing the predominant view of New England's superiority, the Chesapeake school brought to the forefront the Chesapeake region's similarities to England and their cultural dominance in the colonies.[101] Yet, none of the studies really focused on women and compared their roles between the two places for differences and similarities. A second generation of students of colonial society from the late 1970s onwards, however, did so. This article attempts to synthesize the findings of these studies.

Patriarchal ideas held by seventeenth and eighteenth century Europeans came to the New World

[101]Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988) is an example of the Chesapeake school; Kenneth Lockridge, *A New England Town* (New York, 1970) is an example of the New England school.

with the settlers, yet these same settlers could not always enforce those ideas in the new environment. Between the Chesapeake Bay and New England regions, women's roles in society were affected not only by the patriarchal ideals of society but also by the realities of life in the New World. Did these roles differ from their English origins? Did the roles differ even within the two regions? Do women's roles help the validity of either school of thought? Women shared many of the same roles between the two regions. They delivered babies, raised children, and acted as helpmeets, a term used to describe a wife's duty to help her husband with all facets of their life. Yet, within these very roles of wife and mother, women showed distinct differences in how they met the challenges of their lives. Demographics, for example the preponderance of men in the Chesapeake, initially influenced women's roles in the two areas.

Those who settled in the Chesapeake came to make money quickly. Eventually, the settlers began to form a permanent settlement in order to gain from producing the staple crop of tobacco, but tobacco requires a large amount of labor and laborers were scarce.[102] Because settlers came to the region to make money, many did not have families that immigrated with them and the region developed a skewed sex ratio. When looking for indentured servants, settlers valued men more than women since men could increase the income of the land. The skewed sex ratio in Middlesex County was six men to one woman in the early years and three men to one woman by the 1680s. This allowed women more fluid roles socially.[103]

In addition to the lack of available labor, those living in the Chesapeake region suffered from the

[102]Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 14-5.

[103]Carol Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York, 1996), 6.

climate, which harbored diseases such as malaria, causing a high mortality rate. Husbands lost wives; wives lost husbands; children lost parents; parents lost children. Early deaths caused patriarchal ideals to weaken. After all, most marriages ended by death within 9 to 12 years. High mortality rates included a high degree of parental death. For example in Middlesex County, Virginia 48% of children lost at least one parent by their ninth birthday and by age 13 that figure rose to 60%. The surviving parent would often remarry creating an extended family, restoring some of the patriarchal authority lost. But, the breakdown of traditional families allowed women more power as "now-wives" because they represented a constant thread in the children's lives.[104] This pattern of early death led women to gain some power as widows.

Plymouth, the first New England colony settled, and the Massachusetts Bay colonies both began with influxes of whole families, motivated by religion to build a shining example of a Christian community for the world. Because of the migration pattern, the New England colonies had sex ratios similar to English society. Thanks to the environment, the New England colonists lived longer lives than most Europeans. Low rates of mortality helped perpetuate the patriarchal system under which the Puritans functioned.[105] Church leaders doubled as leaders in the colonies and kept citizens under strict moral control. Patriarchal authority developed with the Covenant as a way to keep order in the fledgling colony. The Covenant, an agreement by the males (occasionally women were allowed a vote within some churches) about the government, was then

[104]Ibid, 5-9; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1759* (New York, 1984), 114.

[105]Greene, *Pursuit of Happiness*, 19-24.

linked with patriarchal values in the family. In Massachusetts Bay, the Reverend John Cotton expressed the idea of a "mutual Covenant" that exists between "husband and wife in the family, Magistrates and subjects in the commonwealth, fellow citizens in the same cit[y]." People could be "free from naturall and compulsory engagements" and "can be united or combined together into one visible body."[106]

Under the patriarchal system, the head of the family, the father, rules over everyone in his house. This person, sometimes called the family governor, would make all decisions dealing with the land and assets of the family. As in the Chesapeake region family in New England consisted of all those living under the same roof. For example in New Haven in 1656 all single persons "who live not in service, nor in any family relation, answering the mind of God in the fift[h] commandment", that is, obey, could be considered a person to cause "inconvenience and disorder."[107] Those single persons should therefore live with appropriate family governors. In both regions male heads of households were carefully scrutinized by political authority outside the home, neighbors would gossip about unruly children or abusive spouses to bring to light abusive masters or husbands. In Virginia, laws enforced the patriarchal authority by making sure that a male headed the household and that he would support his family by providing the appropriate food, clothing, shelter, religious and moral instruction. Yet, the government refrained from regulating private issues such as abuse. New England government on the other hand

[106]Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England* (London, 1645), 4 in Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1996), 13.

[107]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 40-1.

stepped in to regulate those very same private issues that the Virginia government shied away from. For example, the New Haven government would allow divorces for cruelty. They also regulated sexual behavior within the home, such as adultery issues. [108]

The family governor also would give consent to appropriate marriages for his children. The family governor was above all to be obeyed. Spouses should love each other, although that entailed the man striving to move beyond his wife's inferiority in the spiritual, physical, and social realms. At the same time, the wife had to strive to reach the husband's level of superiority without resentment of his power and authority.[109]

Women maintained absolute power in one aspect—childbirth. County courts received the names of fathers of illegitimate children from midwives. Midwives often were called in for their expertise on women's bodies for a number of issues, such as whether a woman concealed a pregnancy. In the year 1664 in Maryland Elizabeth Greene, an indentured servant, stood trial for infanticide—a felony. The court called in Grace Parker, a midwife, to examine Greene and verify if Greene concealed a pregnancy.

> Grace Parker Examined saith That she was a stranger to the wench and did not see her above once all the time she was with Child and that she did search her breast and the wench denied she was with Child but there was milk in her breasts. And it was agoing away being hard and Curdled—And she desiring her

[108]Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 108-11.

[109]Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 54-6; Berkin, *First Generations*, 31.

> to declare after she was delivered what she had done with her Child she said she had buried it in such a place but when they Came to search for it they Could find no such thing[110]

The testimony of Grace Parker swayed the court and Elizabeth Greene died for her actions. Midwives or matrons could be brought in to examine women convicted to die for pregnancy that prevented capital punishment.[111]

Under English Common Law, women were legally under their parents until married, and then their husbands assumed power over them. It is not until a wife became a widow that legally she existed and became a *femme sole* and outside of patriarchal authority within the home. The anonymous author of an English legal treatise expressed the following view:

> Why mourne you so, you that be widowes: Consider how long you have beene in subjection under the predominance of parents, of your husbands, now you be free in libertie, & free *proprii juris* at your owne Law.[112]

Although a widow could become head of the household in both regions, she could not encompass all

[110]Ruth Barnes Moynihan, Cynthia Russett, and Laurie Crumpacker, ed., *Second to None: A Documentary History of American Women*, vol. 1, *From the Sixteenth Century to 1865* (Lincoln, 1993), 68-9.

[111]Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 98.

[112]T.E., *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights; or, the Lawes Provision for Woemen* (London, 1632) in Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 138.

the related roles. She could sue, make contracts, have a will written, be sued directly (not in her husband's name), pay taxes, and became liable for her deceased husband's debts. And yet, she could not vote, hold office, serve in the militia, or serve on juries.[113] A widow legally gained a third of her husband's property as a dower right; dower property was part of Common Law in England that was adopted in the colonies. Very few husbands left their wives less than the required third, but most made stipulations such as for life only, for widowhood, or for the minority of the children. The restrictions made remarriage more difficult because the widow would again lose power. Over half of all husbands left their wives more than the third for at least the minority of the children or during her widowhood.[114] The empowerment occurred because husbands trusted their wives to see to the children's care before strangers would. The key was keeping the inheritance together. Husbands might bequeath minors to stay with their wife, but specify that if she remarries and the husband abuses the children they would remove the children to a guardian. The empowerment actually came when the widow was named executrix of her husband's estate.[115] The age of the children made the difference in what a widow would gain. In the Chesapeake where husbands died young, children still in their minority often remained. Widows gained the most power when minor children were the only heirs. Her power lasted only until she remarried or the children came of age. If adult heirs were present, however, the heirs gained all, including instructions on how to maintain the widow. By trying to

[113]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 138-9.

[114]Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, *Inheritance in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick, 1987), 50-3.

[115]Berkin, *First Generations*, 14-20

keep the land intact for heirs, the fathers bent the patriarchal ideas to allow women control only if the heirs were minors. If adult heirs were present, the fathers upheld patriarchal values by passing the land and the widows upkeep to them.[116]

As widows prepared to remarry, a few women signed prenuptial agreements with their future husbands. The agreements not only helped them to retain their own property, but also helped keep their children's inheritance safe from their stepfathers. Prenuptial agreements might include such things as allowing a woman to make sales of her property or be able to make contracts in her own name, but most importantly they allowed women to keep land from previous marriages out of the hands of husbands who might abuse it. Admittedly, prenuptial agreements step outside the bounds of patriarchal authority, but few women used this option.[117] Marital problems were often brought before neighbors and family before being brought to the courts.[118]

Parental consent to marry had to be obtained by not only children but also the indentured servants. According to the law, valid marriages were those "that had been consummated in sexual union and preceded by contract, either public or private, with witnesses or without, in the present tense or the future tense." Yet in the early settlement period the Chesapeake authorities loosened their grip on the laws dealing with marriages in part due to a lack of sufficiently qualified clergy to hold the proper ceremony. Nearly one-half of all female

[116]Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *Colonial Women and Domesticity*, ed. Peter Charles Hoffer (New York, 1988), 143-149.

[117]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 137-9.

[118]Ibid, 138-9.

immigrants went to the altar pregnant; one-fifth of the Creole population had bridal pregnancies. If parents lived long enough they tried to impose their wishes upon their children concerning marriages, especially if large amounts of property were involved.[119]

Consensual sex between men and single women resulted in the greatest number of criminal offenses, yet the crime of fornication and the related crime of illegitimacy differed between New England and the Chesapeake. In New England, fornication crimes were prosecuted at a greater rate than illegitimacy, but the opposite obtained in the Chesapeake. Young women's legal status was part of the reason. New England's young females consisted mainly of young women from free households contracted as servants. When these young women entered into a consensual sexual relationship with the man they intended to marry the resulting baby that appeared less than nine months after the wedding led to a charge of fornication. In the Chesapeake, this same group of young women consisted mainly of indentured servants with long-term legal contracts that forbade marriage without their master's permission. Thus, the same consensual sexual relationship resulted in a bastard rather than a baby shortly after the wedding.[120]

The two regions differed in their view of which crime was worse. In the Chesapeake, a bastard created a financial burden on the community; fornication was viewed much more leniently. This can be seen in prosecutions of civil suits versus criminal suits,

[119]Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman (New York, 1979), 129-4.

[120]Norton, *Founding Fathers & Mothers*, 336-7; Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 173-6.

fornication versus adultery. The suing of the father for support appear, but not criminal charges. Acts that would have resulted in a crime and a sin in New England were forgiven after corrective steps taken. For example, a magistrate of Kent Island (Virginia) avoided prosecution by marrying the widow with whom he was accused of fathering a bastard. He did not even lose his office. In New Haven, couples could be charged with "lascivious carriage" or "filthy dalliance"; these charges occurred when an unbetrothed and unmarried couple participated in sexual acts that did not include proven intercourse. Often these charges resulted in whipping. The essential difference between the two areas rests on the definition of sin. Fornication was sinful in New England; financial burdens created the sin in the Chesapeake.[121]

Women formed relations both vertically through economic ties such as servant to mistress and horizontally through close friendships within the same class. Under this system, puritan communities also expected the women to behave a certain way, by using rules such as the rule of industry and the rule of charity. To be a good wife was to be a productive wife, and your neighbors would spread the tale if any wife were not behaving properly.[122]

The rule of industry also existed in the Chesapeake colonies as part of the ideals of duties as a wife; gossip by other wives spread the tale of those not following through on their duties. For example, Edy Hantinge in Norfolk County voiced disapproval of Mistress Hayward:

[121]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 336-7.

[122]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750* (New York, 1982), 58-61.

> Mathew Haywards wife did live as brave a life as any weoman in Virginia for she could lie abead every morning till her husband went a milkinge and came Back againe and washt the dishes and skimd the milk and then Mr Edward floide would come in and say come nieghboure will you walke and soe she went abroad and left the children cringe th[a]t hir husband was faine to come home and leafe his worke to quiett the children.[123]

This quotation brings to light more than just a woman neglecting her duties does. First, her husband does the milking and dishes both considered women's work. Second, she walks about with neighbor men, which implies illicit relations. Third, while she walked her husband had to leave his work in order to settle the children, this again should be the wife's job. A woman known for cruelty to servants held the indenture of the speaker. Perhaps the statement indicated a desire for the life that Mistress Hayward led, or a longing for better treatment in her own life. In any case, Edy Hantinge apologized for the comments after Mistress Hayward brought her to court.[124]

The rule of charity insisted that the wealthier people should help the poorer people and gossip again acted as a tool to enforce the rule. For example a servant, Sarah Roper, carried off over ten pounds of goods from her mistress, but was not prosecuted by her

[123]Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 101.

[124]Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, 101-2.

mistress until she called her "an old Jew and hobling Joane" implying that the mistress did not give charity as she should. The slander caused the case to be brought before the judges.[125]

Women had power through gossip in both regions. Gossip allowed moral and legal issues such as fornication, illegitimacy, theft, and abuse to become known and corrected. Kathleen Brown states "women's gossip acted as a form of social control that competed with more formal legal institutions and perpetuated gender-specific standards for reputation." A woman's good name related to her sexual reputation. Defamation suits represented the primary method a woman used against women of the same status for slander. Usually a woman was called a whore or other related terms such as "hoore, theife, and Toade," "pissa bedd jade," or, "you slut." These epithets followed a woman around for years later, even if she fought against the slanderers.[126] Hannah Marsh Fuller Finch provides such a case. Finch's ordeal began on her journey to the colonies; she came as a servant in New Haven and immediately sued Mr. Francis Brewster. Supposedly, Brewster called Finch a "Billingsgate slutt" while on board the ship. The allegation included the notion that Finch was not only a woman of loose moral character but also claimed that she was condemned as a scold, a shrew. Finch won this case when Brewster admitted he had no proof, yet the story would not die. Four years later the magistrate's wife accused Finch of misconduct and began gossip about Finch and other men. Again, Finch was found not guilty. Two years later, the rumors surfaced again only to die after a forced apology to keep the case from court. Thirteen years later, the rumor became known again but with reference to Finch's daughter. This series of events

[125]Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 58-63.

[126]Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*, 99.

shows just how much power a single rumor held within a community. Hannah Finch had moved up in society from servant girl to a respectable member of society. Each one of the entanglements with the rumors developed in part over a power struggle between Finch and her accusers. The first accusations came from a man who claimed actions for which he had no proof. The second, a magistrate's wife, might have felt that Finch's actions too bold for a respectable wife. The last comment came from an argument over her daughter's behavior, which alleged the daughter followed her mother's example. Finch's bold behavior led to a rumor resurfacing every time a problem within the community network developed.[127]

Religion varied greatly in the early years of settlement. The Chesapeake lacked a unifying religion; people practiced Catholicism, Anglicanism, Quakerism, and other Christian religions.[128] New England consisted primarily of Puritans. The puritan religion provided some authority for women yet simultaneously caused women to fight for more power. Women could not be ministers nor did they sign the covenant to create the congregation. Yet women could attain sainthood and did to a greater extent then men, causing membership at younger ages and in larger numbers among women. As Ulrich asserts, "[r]elying upon private power within their own families, women promoted the establishment of

[127]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 232-4.

[128]For a look at Catholics and Quakers see Michael Graham, "Meetinghouse and Chapel: Religion and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill, 1988), 242-74; Catholics settled particularly in Maryland with Lord Baltimore under the Act Concerning Religion; for more information see Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill, 1991).

religion in outlying areas of older towns; using their influence within the village network as well as with their husbands, women served as guardians of ministerial reputation."[129]

As more women entered the church, they gained power. For example, women often led the battle for new churches within walking distance. Women taught their children religion. Ministers carefully cultivated the support of women by avoiding negative gossip both in and out of church. The minister that alienated his women followers faced challenges staying minister within that church.[130]

Puritan leaders confronted captivity surprisingly frequently in their families and communities. Age and gender were the keys to a captive's fate. Men were more likely to escape or die resisting captivity. Women adapted and were more likely to remain with their captors. Historians argue a variety of reasons for women remaining. Marriage played an essential role. Married women rarely stayed, except in cases of extreme circumstance. However, young ladies expected to leave their homes and possibly their communities when they married, to also lose their nationality and language was not expected but women adapted. If they married a Frenchman, by law they became French thus gaining equal status to that they would have had in New England. Religion offered women another reason to remain; Puritanism only gives women one choice for fulfillment—marriage. Catholics have a second choice they can become nuns. Nuns provided an extensive female network that supported captured young ladies, and sought to teach and convert captives.[131] Some women fought against the patriarchal constraints of

[129]Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 217.
[130]Berkin, *First Generations*, 41-2.
[131]Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 208-13.

Puritanism. Women such as Anne Hutchinson battled for the right to preach. Mary Dyer lost her life for the Quaker cause. These women disrupted the authority in the colonies.

Anne Hutchinson threatened the Puritan patriarchal structure. Her home was the gathering place for women's meetings. Women were denied the right to attend any weekday sermon or public lecture; there were female meetings before Anne moved to the colonies but she expanded them and the authorities saw this as a breeding ground for dissident proselytizing.[132] Whether or not she was an antinomian and believed that salvation lay with a direct relationship to God, does not matter. The problem lay in what Governor John Winthrop believed she preached. Her trials reveal a view that she challenged the family order, morality, and the patriarchal system. These trial records come from the viewpoint of Winthrop, so bias already exists. For example, an exchange takes place where Winthrop leads Anne to try to gain an admittance of breaking the fifth commandment, the commandment that patriarchal authorities use to support their ideology.[133]

Mary Dyer's case shows just how much power women held within their realm. Dyer traveled to the colonies to protest the persecution of Quakers. She even went so far as to write a letter to the general court of Massachusetts protesting the persecution. Mary Dyer delivered a stillborn, deformed child in October of 1637. The midwife, Jane Hawkins, Anne Hutchinson, and one other woman were present during the birth. The women kept the birth a secret from the government for over five months. When Dyer left church with Hutchinson after

[132]Berkin, *First Generations*, 43-5.
[133]Berkin, *First Generations*, 38-40; "The Examination of Anne Hutchinson," in *Public Women* , ed. Dawn Keetley and John Pettegrew (Madison, 1997), 9-16.

her excommunication, Winthrop asked who Dyer was. The reply mentioned the monstrous birth. When Winthrop investigated the information, he found that a community of women knew about the rumor for months. Winthrop understood that women discussed events like the birth with other women, but not with men. The issue of her monstrous birth fell to the sidelines when she challenged patriarchal authority in defense of the Quakers. Unlike Anne Hutchinson, Mary Dyer did not back down graciously or leave the colony but became a martyr to the Quakers in 1660.[134]

As the seventeenth-century ended, the patriarchal system tightened its grip on the Chesapeake colonies. The mortality rates evened out; marriages lasted longer. Widows rarely gained power over their husband's estates. Further immigration from England helped strengthen beliefs in the Common Law of England and patriarchal ideals. Fathers survived to supervise children, helping to reduce bridal pregnancy. Wives lost power gained in the courts as husbands reasserted their dominance. Yet, dominance did not mean wives lost all power. They gained power by two laws, which required justices to question wives separately and get their agreement before the husband could sell the dower property. Wives also gained a stronger legal position for protection against abuse and abandonment. In New England, the women lost power as well. The healthy climate no longer permitted longer lives and life expectancy evened out with other colonies. Women lost the role of executrix. The power of a woman's word no longer held credibility in courts. Divorces became harder to obtain in cases of cruelty.

[134]Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 223-4, 394-5; Mary Dyer, "Letter to the Massachusetts General Court Protesting the Persecution of Quakers (1659)," in Keetley & Pettegrew, *Public Women, Public Words*, 16-7.

Adultery remained defined by a married woman having extramarital intercourse.[135]

At the turn of the eighteenth-century, the colonies began to converge. New England lost its healthful advantage, gained a more disperse population as younger sons moved to gain more land, and lost control religiously with an influx of new settlers. The Chesapeake settlers grew more accustomed to the climate and built stronger social institutions. Yet throughout, women's roles lost stature. The role of widows became less important as men began to live longer. The role of women in controlling social morality dropped as the effects of events such as the Salem witch trials pointed out the fallacies in believing everything that is uttered from upstanding groups. Yet women maintained important roles such as child rearing and they maintained importance in the church. Although formal power of women weakened, informal power grew stronger.

Women's power became more similar in the two regions by the end of the seventeenth-century. Neither school of thought really presents a strong case for the prevalence of their region. Both regions had gossips, sexual crimes, death, and widows. Women continued to hold sway over childbirth, but the ideal of the genteel wife emerged as more imported goods found their way into the colonies. The freedom women gained in both regions due to the differences in the New World began to subside as the colonies developed stronger economically. Where women are concerned, the school of thought needs to be modified into a blend of the Chesapeake and New England schools. Both regions contribute to the role of women in the years to follow,

[135]Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*, 234-2; Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 60-2, 165.

and both set up precedents for women to gain power in later years.

From Slave Cabins to "Shotguns": Perceptions on Africanisms in American Architecture

James Draper

A graduate student in Historical Administration at Eastern Illinois, James Draper wrote this essay for Dr. Nora Small's American Architecture class in the fall of 2000.

> Too often our view of architecture is focused solely on the unique monumental structures designed in large part to display the wealth and power of the elite... while the greatest part of the built environment—the houses that most people live in—goes unnoticed.
>
> —John Michael Vlach[136]

The transportation of African slaves to the New World from colonial to antebellum periods had a profound affect on the creation of not only a distinctive African-American culture, but also on the formulation of the dominant American culture in North America. Many African cultural traits, or "Africanisms," that traversed the Atlantic Ocean with the slaves have influenced our culture over time through music, dance, language, folk crafts, and architecture.

This essay examines the varying opinions and arguments presented by historians, architectural historians, ethnographers, and folklorists on the topic of

[136]John M. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Athens, 1990), 122.

African contributions to architecture in the United States. It briefly discusses theories from the first half of the twentieth century that revolved around the transference of African cultural traits to the United States through the slave trade, or lack of it. Then, with the "new social history" during the 1960s, we probe into the emergence of more inclusive forms of historical inquiry and the reformulation of the older theories, focusing on theories involving possible Africanisms in building materials (including construction techniques) and overall form.[137] Finally, this essay discusses how historians and folklorists have interpreted the Shotgun House, with an emphasis on the works of John Michael Vlach and the use of the Shotgun as a symbol, or icon, of African-American culture.

Theories from the first half of the twentieth century show definite ethnocentric interpretations of the evolution of African-American culture. Perhaps influenced by previous social-Darwinist mentalities from the late nineteenth century, most of the historians in the early twentieth century remained quite biased in their interpretations on African-American history. These scholars perpetuated theories that African-Americans lost their indigenous culture. Many of them believed that the servile status and inherent inferiority of the African slaves, forced them to be absorbed into the dominant Anglo-American culture upon arrival through the slave-trade, which resulted in little, if any, cultural transference. A typical journal article from 1919 suggests that,

[137]Though one can delve into many other areas, such as spatial arrangements, communal focus, attributed use, and other characteristics, the restraint on time and space will only allow brief discussions on building materials/techniques and overall form of the early slave houses.

> when he (the African slave) landed in the United States, [he] left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament.… [C]oming from all parts of Africa and having no common language and common tradition, the memories of Africa which they brought with them were soon lost."[138]

Melville Herskovits, one of the foremost authorities on African-American culture before the rise of the "new social history," once commented that "it is apparent that African forms of technology ...had but a relatively slight chance of survival…. [T]echniques [such] as weaving and iron working and wood carving were almost entirely lost."[139] Even folklorist and material culture expert Henry Glassie once stated that "more African elements survive in musical, social, or kinesthetic traditions than in material culture," but he does admit some material survivals.[140]

The emergence of the new social history during the 1960s created a massive shift in perceptions of early African-Americans and also created new methods, along with new areas of research, within the field of history. The Civil Rights Movement and the establishment of specific preservation acts led to a revolution in history. More "democratized" methods of historical inquiry emerged, where groups previously ignored by historians (mainly the commoners and minorities) became the

[138]Robert Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919): 116-8.

[139]Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1958), 136-7.

[140]Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 116.

primary focus. One important sub-field that evolved was African-American history. In addition, with excavations of slave cabins, African-American archaeology emerged within the field of historical archaeology to provide a more objective glimpse into the life of early African-Americans (since many of the early African-American histories were based on the biased accounts of white plantation owners).[141] By delving into two distinct areas—building materials and techniques utilized, and overall form—we can observe an obvious shift in perceptions through the emergence of the new social history and through the new forms of inquiry it created.

In regards to the building materials and construction techniques employed in the construction of early slave houses, historians and folklorists have argued many different angles. Those focused on the deep south and the Caribbean colonies, emphasize the mud-walled, thatched-roofed slave cabins on the sugar and rice plantations. These cabins usually consisted of a 10 to 12 foot square floor-plan, a high-pitched roof, one to two windows, and a chimney of stick-and-clay construction. Excavations of early slave houses at the Curriboo and Yaughan sites in South Carolina led many scholars to the conclude that West African architectural traditions traversed the Atlantic through the minds of the slaves. The archaeologists that excavated the site speculated that "evidence for such a technique or a similar technique, rammed-earth architecture, is common throughout Africa, the presumed origin for some if not all of the inhabitants and probable builders of the structures at

[141]Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington D.C., 1992), xxxix, xliv, 3-6.

Curriboo and Yaughan."[142] Rammed-earth techniques represent one of many mud-wall methods, including "cob"-walls, pisé walls, and wattle-and-daub.[143] Excavations of other southern sites, such as Canon's Point Plantation (1794-1860), also revealed mud-walled slave cabins. Leland Ferguson, Theresa Singleton, John Michael Vlach, and others have used the data from these excavations (along with historic documents) to argue that African (primarily West African) building traditions did survive in the New World. Singleton actually goes as far as saying that architecture provides the best documentary evidence of enslaved Africans influencing their material world. They all illustrate that dirt floors, mud walls, and thatched roofs existed in regions of West Africa during the slave-trade era and the continuation of those distinctive African traits in America provided excellent proof of cultural transference and persistence.[144]

Over the last two decades, research in the Chesapeake Tidewater region has unsettled theories based solely on slave housing in the deep South. Large plantations did not emerge in the region until the "Golden Era" of tobacco production. As the plantations

[142]Thomas R. Wheaton, Amy Friedlander, and Patrick H. Garrow, *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology* (Atlanta, 1983), 193, 338-9, D2-D6.

[143]For more information on African architecture, see Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture* (New York, 1978); and Rene Gardi, *Indigenous African Architecture* (New York, 1973).

[144]Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*,63-8; Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, 1993); John Solomon Otto, *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South* (New York, 1984); Theresa A. Singleton, "The Archaeology of Slave Life," *Images of the Recent Past: Readings in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Charles E. Orser, Jr. (Walnut Creek, 1996). See also Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stone Rebellion* (New York, 1974).

materialized, slaves grew in numbers and separate slave housing emerged.[145] There have been many theories devoted to these slave structures and whether they exhibited definite Africanisms or not. Ferguson, for instance, has argued that even though these earthfast houses looked European in design, they were altered to suit African lifestyles. Most of the first settlers of the Chesapeake (white and black) built impermanent earthfast housing, utilizing materials and techniques that were quite familiar to West Africans, such as "prepared clay floors, wattle-and-daub walls, and thatched roofs." Ferguson argues though, that unlike the other methods, log construction "was an exclusive European import."[146] Here, like in Georgia and the Carolinas, one can observe similarities in the emphasis of "typical" African traits in slave housing (mud walls, dirt floors, and thatched roofs).

George McDaniel has provided a much different perspective on Chesapeake slave and free black housing, in regards to building materials and technologies. In his book, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture*, McDaniel argues that African slaves did not enter an alien environment, where their skills had no application. Skilled in many diverse building traditions and familiar with many of the same materials utilized by white settlers in the region, Africans contributed a lot to the built environment. In Maryland, Africans more likely retained traditional construction methods rather than traditional house types. Wattle-and-daub, for example,

[145]For more information on early Chesapeake tobacco culture, see Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsch, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill, 1991); Robert K. Fitts, "Landscapes of Northern Bondage," *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 54-73; and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975).

[146]Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 56-7.

represented an ancient technique developed in both Europe and Africa. Other African techniques that may have blended with the Anglo-construction methods included "cob" walls and pise walls—both of which utilized clay or mud—and even log and frame construction practices.[147] His main emphasis rests on cultural diversity in African building traditions, while many earlier and contemporary scholars arbitrarily designate all African slaves as being one within West African (Kongolese or Angolan) culture.[148]

Historians differ as to the overall form (including spatial arrangements) of the early slave cabins. Vlach asserts that small room sizes, gable roofs, and rectangular floor plans (often consisting of two or more rooms), like thatched roofs and dirt floors, represent clear Africanisms in early slave houses on the plantations. To support his arguments, he provides the dimensions of free black and slave houses (18th- and early-19th century) from Massachusetts to Georgia, all of which correspond to the African norm to a degree.[149] In the Chesapeake region, Vlach argues that the "key difference between Virginian and West African houses was the size of the rooms." He continues explaining that "slave housing manifested what can be considered an African proxemic quality."[150] Vlach also presents the argument that the porches built onto the African slave dwellings throughout Colonial America were not only an African architectural trait, but were adopted by the

[147]Also discussed by Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife* (Athens, 1991), 225-6.

[148]George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia, 1982), 29-44, 68, 72, 86-9, 130.

[149]Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 135-8.

[150]Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands,* 223-7. Otto also presents the 12 x 12 foot room size in excavated slave cabins as a distinctive African trait in *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860*, 43.

dominant white culture and can be found on many American houses today. The front porch reveals a subtle and pervasive retention of African architectural traditions.[151]

Although many scholars have adopted Vlach's and McDaniel's theories, some differ. Mark L. Walston adamantly opposes cultural transference theories. Although he admits that slave houses have remained an "enigma," his research on slave houses of the Chesapeake region (1600s-1700s) reveals that slave housing "appears to be a continuation, with slight spatial modifications, of older English practices of housing domestic servants and agricultural laborers." He contends that Vlach and McDaniel "struggle" to find Africanisms in vernacular architecture. They have focused exclusively on areas, such as the Sea Islands, Louisiana, and southern Maryland, where "significant concentrations of Africans ...[may have] allowed these isolated expressions to be created." Cultural survivals may have been present in certain study areas (language, music, the decorative arts), but as far as slave housing is concerned, the argument is at best tenuous. Walston proceeds by comparing the slave houses with possible English antecedents, rather than with African dwellings, in which he presents many similarities in room sizes and overall form.[152]

[151]Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 136-8. See also Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents for Afro-American Architecture" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975).

[152]Mark L.Walston "'Uncle Tom's Cabin' Revisited: Origins and Interpretations of Slave Housing in the American South," *Southern Studies*. 24, no. 4 (1985): 357-73. Vlach attests to these theories as well, surprisingly. He reveals that "designs for slave housing grew out of the Anglo-American architectural tradition," but his analysis revolves strictly around mid-nineteenth century slave dwellings, "Not Mansions ...But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression," in *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson, 1993), 102; Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*.

Walston's theories are also contested by McDaniel, who argues that log construction traditions were common to the river basins and savannah regions of Africa, where many Africans were captured and shipped to the British Atlantic colonies. Even though African techniques did not include hewn logs or joined corners, but instead the use of whole logs tied by vines, McDaniel theorizes that African construction methods syncretized with European techniques in the Chesapeake. By the late eighteenth century, the single room log cabin became the traditional house type of black Marylanders. The log cabin that many traditionally think of as a representation of early white pioneers also had a long African-American heritage.[153] Walston, however, argues that one room, dirt floored, log cabins were typical white and black house types throughout the frontier of early America and into the established plantations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Often, the only difference was size (also, white settlers would sometimes have more than one room). Also, whites had a choice in style, while slaves did not; it was imposed on them. Rather than these single room quarters exhibiting African characteristics, Walston contends that they were based on "the minimal housing unit traditionally accepted in English culture," dwellings associated with peasants and laborers in England.[154]

The historiography on the shotgun house, an existing house type exhibiting clear Africanisms, also shows similar shifts over time. The shotgun house suggests many of the distinctive Africanisms in building materials and overall form mentioned. Vlach has

[153]McDaniel, *Hearth and Home,* 41-4.

[154]Walston, "'Uncle Tom's Cabin' Revisited," 357-73.

commented that the shotgun house may be the "most significant expression of Afro-American material culture."[155] Henry Glassie described it as a house type that "breaks the American pattern in size and orientation."[156] Yet, for most of the previous century, the shotgun house had been ignored as a specific house type, as well as existing evidence of African cultural transference. The actual significance of the shotgun was not truly uncovered until recently, by folklorist Vlach, who has become the authority on shotgun houses in America.

Research on the origins of the shotgun as a distinct house type did not truly begin until the 1970s. During most of the twentieth century, the shotgun remained obscure and anonymous among many different types of vernacular structures covering the American landscape. Then during the 1930s, Fred Kniffen finally designated the shotgun as a specific house type defining it as "a long, narrow house…, one room in width and from one to three or more rooms deep, with [a] frontward-facing gable."[157] Kniffen though, did not delve much into the history or origins of the shotgun, but only characterized it as a regional peculiarity. He did speculate that the shotgun had possible Haitian or Native-American antecedents. Further attention was not given to the shotgun until the 1950s, when William B. Knipmeyer, a student of Kniffen, completed an analysis of settlement patterns within Louisiana. Like Kniffen,

[155]Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*, 123.

[156]Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington, 1999), 339.

[157]This has become the commonly accepted definition of the shotgun house in the study of vernacular architecture. Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," in *Readings in Cultural Geography*, ed. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago, 1962), 165.

he treated it as a regional phenomenon, attributing its possible origins to local Native-American tribes. Knipmeyer, as well as others working in the field at the time, believed that the shotgun was a recent manifestation, dating back to the 1880s at the earliest.[158]

Although those previous works provided some information of the shotgun house, it was not until Vlach's works (beginning in the 1970s) that an in-depth analysis of shotguns emerged. Working from the findings of Kniffen and Knipmeyer, and through extensive field research Vlach linked the shotgun to the historic African-American communities of Louisiana. He traced the origins of the shotgun first to New Orleans, where a large black community had existed since the early eighteenth century. The origins went further back in time though. The majority of the New Orleans black community migrated from Haiti (around 1800), where presumably African, French, and Arawak architectural elements combined to create the precursors of the Louisiana shotguns. Vlach remarks that "the links to Africa are not simple and direct. The story behind the shotgun involves long migrations, the conduct of the Atlantic slave trade, the rise of free black communities, the development of vernacular and popular traditions in architecture, and the growth of American industrial needs."[159]

The shotgun "prototype," or the *caille* that developed in Haiti, exhibited many key African architectural characteristics. The wattle-and-daub walls and thatched roofs of the rural Haitian *cailles* definitely

[158]Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, 1986), 59-60, 77.

[159]Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House,"; idem, "The Shotgun House," 58-78; idem, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts,* 122-31.

exhibited African retentions. Vlach points out that most of the Haitian slaves were taken from the Yoruba region of West Africa, where similar materials and building techniques were utilized.[160] More importantly though, Yoruba contained a variety of house types, all of which were based on a rectangular, two-room form. The 10 x 10 foot room size was also a key characteristic. The Haitian houses exhibited these main African architectural traits and Vlach reveals that the "repetition of the 10 x 20 foot dimensions represents the impact of a West African architectural concept" in Haiti. The *caille* was not a pure African building type. As the building type moved from rural regions to urban areas, features from French and Arawak building traditions were incorporated. For instance, the gable door probably came from the Arawak *bohios*. The French added construction techniques, primarily clapboarding, framing methods, mortice-and-tenon system of joints, half-timbering, and decorative features in urban *cailles*, to assimilate, as Vlach says, the African form to a European setting (urban areas, such as Port-au-Prince).[161]

The Haitian *caille* house type was then transported to New Orleans during the first half of the nineteenth century, where it became the shotgun house. Large black populations migrated to New Orleans, and, by 1810, outnumbered whites two to one. With the migrations came the transference of the shotgun house to New Orleans. Through historic documents, Vlach has been able to date the first known shotgun in New

[160]The word "shotgun" may have actually been derived from the Yoruba *to-gun*, or "place of assembly." Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts,* 131.

[161]Vlach, "The Shotgun House," 63-71; idem, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts,* 123-9; idem, "Sources of the Shotgun House."

Orleans to the 1820s. His research reveals that the shotgun did not appear until the massive migration of blacks to the region, thus refuting earlier accepted theories that the shotgun was derived from local, native architecture. Vlach documented this through the comparisons of Port-au-Prince houses with New Orleans shotguns, which included similarities in ceiling heights, floor plans, facades, internal partitioning, and framing techniques.[162]

With the appearance of the shotgun, came some variations. These included the double-shotgun, consisting of two shotguns built next to each other under one roof; the camel-back (or "hump-back"), a shotgun or double-shotgun with a two-story rear section; and numerous variations enacted by whites to make them more acceptable by European standards, like the addition of jigsaw-cut "gingerbread" decoration or interior hallways. The latter alterations further obscured the ethnic history of the shotgun. These variations proved, as Vlach illustrates, that there was a long "acquaintance" of New Orleans with the shotgun and that it probably radiated across the countryside from that specific location. Nevertheless, most shotguns retained the characteristics of their Haitian predecessors. Over nearly 150 years, the shotgun has remained a dominant house type within the South, and today, over one million shotguns can be found throughout the American landscape. They are "encountered in cottonfields in Mississippi and Arkansas, in oil fields in Texas, in coal fields in West Virginia, in mill towns in the Carolinas," and in predominantly African-American neighborhoods across the country.[163]

[162]Vlach, "The Shotgun House," 67-70.

[163]Ibid., 62-69; idem, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts,* 127-131; idem, "Sources of the Shotgun House."

Vlach has not been the only one to comment on the origins and use of the shotgun house in America. Sylvia Ann Grider, for example, reveals that "in the oil boomtowns of the Texas Panhandle, the shotgun house took precedence over all other types of company housing." In her research, she states that the origin of the term "shotgun" remains obscure, but does illustrate its acquired "folk etymology" stating many claim that if you fired a shotgun through the front door, it would go straight through and out the back. She also explains the origin of the shotgun house type is obscure, but that it may have antecedents among Haitian house types or Indian huts of the Louisiana coast. The shotgun was popular in the oil boomtowns in Texas (beginning around 1919) because of the fact that they were easy to construct, fit well on railroad cars, and because the position of the front door (located at the narrow, gabled end) allowed them to be closely spaced in rows, thus maximizing the potential of the land. Interestingly, Grider explains that many of them measured 12 x 24 foot, very similar to the African spatial arrangements proposed by Vlach, but she does not make the connection. Most of these shotguns were built in haste and were only temporary shelters (even though some survive today), and thus have been deemed "shacks" by locals.[164]

Others have documented the history of shotguns in many different areas of the United States, revealing its extensive diffusion among industrial and low-rent regions throughout the country. For instance, Ron Taylor analyzed shotguns in Macon, Georgia, where they were adopted as low-income housing during the first half of the twentieth century. He states that "like

[164]Sylvia Ann Grider, "The Shotgun House in Oil Boomtowns of the Texas Panhandle," *Pioneer America*. 7, no. 2 (1975): 47-55.

log cabins and sharecropper shacks, they (shotguns) have become part of the American legend linking success to humble beginnings."[165] John S. Sledge, in his research on Mobile's shotgun houses, commented that "one of the most common house types of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban South was the shotgun."[166] Vivian Williamson-Johnson goes as far to say that the shotgun "further shows the retention of Africanisms within the material culture of three continents, amid small hamlets and large cities."[167]

The shotgun house has become a symbol of African-American culture within the United States. John Biggers (an artist and professor at Texas Southern University) has elevated the shotgun house to a level of symbolic importance to the African-American community through his paintings (coincidentally deemed the "Shotgun Series"). Biggers has brought out significant African cultural symbols. The direct connection between rooms, the front porch, and the placement of shotguns in tightly spaced rows in urban areas (as discussed by Vlach and others), represent features associated with close interaction and community. Biggers utilizes the symbolic importance of these features along with other areas that others have not examined thoroughly, such as the triangle of the shotgun's pediment and its rectilinear facade, which "represent sacred forms whose esoteric meaning came from Africa, symbolizing, according to the artist, fire and earth." As Kristin Schreiber explains, the shotgun

[165]Ron Taylor, "Pride and Precedent," *Historic Preservation* 40, no. 6 (1988): 44.

[166]John S. Sledge, "Shoulder to Shoulder: Mobile's Shotgun Houses," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 6, no. 1 (1990): 57.

[167]Vivian William-Johnson, "Reclaiming the Past: the History of Freedman Town and the Preservation of its To-gun/Shotgun House, 1906-1910" (M.A. Thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1988), 3.

house then "refers to the African past through its communal space and design but also through the sacred connotations of its form," thus creating a "domestic temple" that provides spiritual protection, along with family connectedness, for African-Americans. In addition, since Vlach and others have noted that the spatial arrangements and overall form of the shotgun house has remained consistent over time, the research and these paintings have illustrated that African-Americans have "retained the group-oriented social climate of Africa."[168]

With the emergence of the new social history during the 1960s, came more inclusive and objective studies into the vernacular architecture of African-Americans and the reformulation of earlier ethnocentric interpretations. This can be observed in the recent illuminations on the shotgun house and how it has become not only an important artifact in the study of African-American history, but how it has also become a symbol of the retention of African traditional social and cultural traits within the United States. African-American cultural history has been denied any attention (or has been subjected to biased interpretations) for many years. A new emphasis has been placed on the material culture, which includes vernacular architecture, to provide more objective interpretations and to allow light to be shed on the more obscured segments of American history.

[168]Kristin Schreiber, "John Biggers' Shotgun House Series: African American Art and Identity" (M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1996), 26, 29-37. See also Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House."

Republicanism Redefined: The Treaty of Paris, 1899

Richard Hansen

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The year 1898 is significant in the history of the United States' role in global society. That year, America fought and defeated an Imperial Spain. This short war was vitally important because the United States acquired territory in the Pacific—an acquisition that would thrust America onto the world stage as an imperial power. While the Spanish-American War of 1898 is constantly being studied and remembered by students and historians alike, the treaty which ended the war occupies only a small space within history textbooks. In this treaty, we find something larger than just a provision to formally end a war. A fundamental change in the definition of republicanism emerges among the nation's elite that transforms the United States from being a country founded on anti-imperial beliefs to one that embraces imperialism. This change did not take place during the Paris peace talks, but during the ratification debate on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

At this time, those in control of American government possessed a vague understanding about what was meant by a "republic." As Gordon Wood has explained, the founders were convinced that, in a republic, "each man must somehow be persuaded to submerge his personal wants into the greater good of the whole. This willingness of the individual to sacrifice his private interests for the good of the community the

eighteenth century termed 'public virtue.'"[169] A republic, then, relied on the proper moral virtue of its citizens to adequately govern themselves. Therefore, it was imperative that only the men with the greatest wisdom and virtue, supplied by a classical education, should preside over the country, thereby protecting liberty and maintaining order.

As the new nation emerged, education was seen as paramount to the success of the republic. Therefore, schools in the early 1800s stressed citizenship training. Educators taught students that a republic was a "representative form of government in which the general will of the people would be refined and articulated by the best men."[170] Only those citizens who had been properly educated were fit enough to have a hand in the fate of their own republic. It was with this principle that the senators debated the treaty.

Citizenship training would be based on teaching *virtue*, meaning discipline, sacrifice, simplicity, and intelligence. A curriculum based not only on the three Rs, but also on ethics, law, and commerce, was employed. Beyond this, a high emphasis was placed on moral education based on the Protestant Bible. Therefore, Protestant ministers became as important as teachers and parents, in providing the new republic with virtuous citizens. "The survival of the republic depended on the morality of its people."[171] Young men were taught to be well informed and to vote properly. Young women were prepared for republican motherhood—to aid the schools in the education of their

[169]Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, 1967), 68.

[170]Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983), 4.

[3]Ibid., 79.

sons. By the late 1800s, however, a new factor would alter peoples' view of the republic.

As elements of the second Industrial Revolution pushed men from their farms and into the crowded cities, they no longer owned the means through which they could control their own economic destinies. They became dependent on profit-driven businessmen and factory owners. Industrial capitalism became the dominant economic system for the republic, leaving control of the nation's wealth in the hands of a few men. Herbert Spencer attributed this class distinction to the fact that certain individuals were destined to rise above the rest. It was this group of men, trained with a classical education, that defined the concept of a republic for their time. Left out were individuals belonging to the lower classes who felt that this government was quickly turning into one made of the wealthy, by the wealthy, and for the wealthy. "To the good Populist, imperialism was doubly accursed–because it was held to benefit the capitalist and the Wall Streeter rather than the nation at large."[172] Because powerful businessmen ultimately influenced politicians, it was only a short time before economic interests found their way into American foreign policy decisions.

Thomas Paterson points out that there were several groups at work promoting imperialism within the government, such as intellectuals, major financial and industrial corporate executives, and certain members of the executive branch of government. These "cosmopolitans" were empire-builders who used missionaries, merchant capitalists, consumer goods manufacturers, and others to advance their objectives. The cosmopolitans, according to Paterson, cooperated with these "functionals" in order to "build a national

[172]Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 273.

consensus for overseas marketplace expansion, empire, and ultimately war."[173] "Functionals" in the form of Protestant clergymen, such as Josiah Strong, saw Dewey's victory at Manila as a divine summons to spread Christianity into the Philippines and claimed that America's new "destiny" lay in Christianizing the savage cultures of the world. These ideas, offered by industrial capitalists and clergy alike, were now incorporated into republican thought during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The result was that as Americans moved from the Gilded Age to the Imperialism Age, their idea of republic took on a new meaning. From now on, republicanism was to be defined according to the priority of one's own interests ahead of the nation's. Never was this more evident than during the treaty debate in 1899.

When the treaty came before the Senate in January 1899, it was clear that a quick vote for ratification was not to occur. The Senate became divided along almost completely partisan lines. All of the Republicans in the Senate, save two, favored ratification. Two of the treaty's most outspoken advocates were Republican senators Platt of Connecticut and Lodge of Massachusetts, both of whom were backed by wealthy businessmen and their commercial interests.

Although pro-expansionists typically were members of the party in power, the argument for retaining the Philippines was not confined to one section of the country. Other senators, such as Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Nelson from Minnesota, and Foraker from Ohio, also favored annexation. Even some southern senators were for annexation. "In the South, businessmen saw in possession of the islands

[173]Thomas Paterson, "U.S. Intervention in Cuba, 1898: Interpreting the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War," *OAH Magazine of History* (Spring 1998): 7.

assurance of the continued growth of the marketing of American cotton goods in China."[174] No matter their geographic location, the expansionists, backed by industrialists, saw their chance for exploiting new lands in the Pacific to achieve profits and advance their commercial interests. To justify their claims, pro-expansionists used evidence and testimony from military experts, such as Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, to prove that possession of certain territories in the Pacific, such as Hawaii and the Philippines, were essential for defense. Henry Cabot Lodge argued that "[t]here is much else involved here, vast commercial and trade interests, which I believe we have the right to guard and a duty to foster."[175] By holding on to the Philippines, America's economic interests could be explored in Asia and the threat of competition from European markets eliminated.

On the opposing side were Democrats and Populist senators who rejected annexation for various reasons, including those that were political, constitutional, and even economic. Shortly after the war ended, an Anti-Imperialist League arose, whose platform condemned imperialism as hostile to the concept of liberty.[176] In addition, some senators did not stand to benefit from commercial expansion. They adhered to the old definition of republicanism and were looking to the national interest first. Senator George Vest of Missouri argued against ratification on constitutional grounds. Vest introduced Senate Resolution 191, saying that no constitutional power was

[174]Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), 270.

[175]*Congressional Record,* 55th Cong. 3rd session, 1898-99, 960.

[176]G.J.A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War, An American Epic-1898* (New York, 1984), 386.

authorized to the United States to permanently hold a territory as a colony, rather the territory must have eventual statehood.[177] Vest and other opponents of the treaty felt that imperialism went against the American tradition. It violated the idea of a republic because the nation "could not acquire territory beyond her borders not intended to be organized into states."[178]

Senator Mason of Illinois continued this argument, introducing a similar resolution that stated annexing territory while not permitting the Filipinos a voice in their government was in violation of the tradition of a republican form government based on the consent of the governed. Mason thought that the meaning of the republic, or representative government, would be lost. Mason and Vest argued that it was the greed and commercial interests of the money-making classes that were dominating the position of the imperialists, citing a "conspiracy among exporters of liquor, tobacco, and textiles and importers of sugar."[179]

Anti-expansionists who rejected treaty ratification cited other examples of why the annexation of the Philippines would not be in the best interest of the nation. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts went one step further than Mason and introduced a resolution of his own, recalling the republic as known by the founding fathers, and particularly the elements of a republic as stated in the Declaration of Independence. Senator Platt argued with him extensively over what was meant by the phrase, "consent of the governed" as stated in the Mason and Hoar resolutions. Senator Teller added that even in this country, not all Americans are able to actively

[177]*Congressional Record,* 93.

[178]H. Wayne Morgan, *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain of Overseas Expansion* (New York, 1965), 101.

[179]Ernest R. May, *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay* (Chicago, 1991), 204.

participate in their government, citing examples such as women, children and criminals. He believed the Filipinos fell into this same category.

Like expansionists, the anti-expansionists also took advantage of this new definition of republicanism by promoting their own selfish interests yet claiming that their motives were in the best interest of the nation. For example, Senator Chilton of Texas, even though not opposed to expansion, was not inclined to accept the treaty because he worried that the interests of American labor would be in danger. America might become embroiled in Asian conflicts and be unable to morally uphold the Monroe Doctrine.

South Carolina's Senator Tillman spoke out against ratification of the treaty on racial grounds. To him, it was wrong to take on the Philippines because he (and other Southern Democratic senators) opposed the introduction of yet another race into the American society. The Filipinos were seen as savages to be dealt with like the Native Americans. Senator Daniel of Virginia joined Tillman by declaring the Republic as "our great, broad, Christian, Anglo-Saxon, American land."[180] It was clear that the idea of Protestantism and Anglo-Saxon superiority were at work. Hiding his prejudices, Tillman said, "I would save this country from the injection into it of another race question which can only breed bloodshed and a costly war and the loss of the lives of our brave soldiers."[181] He justified his arguments by claiming that only chaos and war would result if the mixing of the races occurred, and that was not in the best interest of the nation.

The senator from South Carolina was more prophetic than he realized. Ironically, just before the treaty was to be voted on in the Senate, a war broke out

[180]*Congressional Record,* 1430.

[181]Ibid., 1389.

in the Philippines. America's old ally, Emilio Aguinaldo, became our enemy and a three-year conflict ensued that would cost the lives of thousands on both sides. Because of the last-minute intervention on behalf of popular Democrat (and soon to be presidential candidate) William Jennings Bryan, certain Democrats ended up voting for ratification. The vote stood at 57 to 27, just one vote more than the two-thirds majority necessary for ratification.[182]

Although economic motives played a little role in bringing on the war, they were very visible when shaping the peace. Expansionists claimed it was their destiny, duty, and religious responsibility to acquire the Philippine Islands. Anti-expansionists countered all of these arguments, yet promoted their own interests ahead of the nation's. On both sides, it was clear that the idea of a republic had been significantly changed through this senatorial debate. As the definers of republicanism approached a new age, one thing was clear to them—the United States had now emerged as an imperial empire, one that would forever be committed to world affairs. New markets as well as new conflict awaited the United States in the twentieth century.

[182]Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898*, 358.

Dorothea Lange: The Depression, the Government, and the Pictures

Jenny Marvel

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In response to the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt created the New Deal to provide economic relief for various labor sectors, including farmers with large and small land holdings, migrant laborers, and sharecroppers. In order to understand the extensive financial affliction the farmers and migrant laborer experienced, the government set up an administrative extension to record the landscape of the nation through written and visual documentation. Photographer Dorothea Lange, working with the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration from 1935 to 1939, recorded the physical burdens and the psychological effects of the Depression within the lives of small farmers and laborers. The government's use of Lange's photographs remains controversial. Were these images propaganda to gain support for government programs? Or did the documentation serve as evidence of need?

Agricultural reform was a priority when Roosevelt took office in 1933. The administration, after meeting and negotiating with farmers and government organizations, quickly created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). The AAA plan of subsidizing producers and controlling the market of farm

commodities inevitably benefited only farmers with large land holdings. The AAA left small farmers, tenant laborers, and migrant workers to fend for themselves.

To counter the worsening economic situation, Roosevelt also created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) in 1933. Through a provision of federal funding, state organizations distributed monetary relief to distressed rural families and unemployed urban workers. In most cases, however, the state disbursement of relief funds led to disastrous results and did not meet long term needs. The task of alleviating desperate conditions proved too large for FERA and its subsidiary organization, the Division of Rural Rehabilitation and Stranded Populations, to handle.

In 1935, recognizing the need for greater cohesion of agrarian assistance, President Roosevelt and his reformers created a separate organization outside of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and FERA to focus on the issue of resettlement within rural and suburban communities. This agency, the Resettlement Administration (RA, renamed the Farm Security Administration, FSA, in 1937), provided low interest loans and promoted better agricultural practices such as soil conservation and farming cooperatives. It also had a strong political function. Combining altruism with political recognition, the Resettlement Administration "would dramatize the Roosevelt administration's current efforts…. [I]t would help to improve [Roosevelt's] posture in preparation for the re-election campaign of 1936."[183] Roosevelt appointed Rexford G. Tugwell, the Undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture, as the chief administrator of the RA. Tugwell knew the RA needed a permanent outlet to explain and develop its initiatives to the

[183]Paul H. Appleby, *Morality and Administration in Democratic Government* (New York, 1969), 37-9.

American public. He hired Roy E. Stryker to direct the Photographic Section of the RA's Information Department. Through the use of photography, the nation would see the conditions in different areas of the United States and would also see the efforts of the government to solve the crisis. Stryker directed photographers, including Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee, and Ben Shahn, to document the rural American scene, displaying its economic and social problems, and providing visual evidence of the RA's relief efforts. Giving the photographers leeway, Stryker "encourage[d] them to interpret these stricken lives with artistry, drama, and compassion."[184] This essay focuses on the work of Dorothea Lange.

Dorothea Lange was interested in humans and the environment. Born in 1895, in Hoboken, New Jersey, Lange experienced two life-changing crises that would develop her fervor to assist others. First, polio at the age of 7 left her with a lifelong limp. Second, when she was 12, her father abandoned the family and left them with many financial burdens.[185] Through the emotional strains of her disability and desertion, Lange identified and communicated with the outsider and his feelings of isolation and frustration. She received training in New York with apprenticeship opportunities in commercial portrait studios, and in 1918 she decided to move to San Francisco to open her own studio. During the early 1930s she noticed evidence of the economic depression in the streets of San Francisco, and began documenting it for the State Emergency Relief Administration. In August of 1935, the RA hired Lange. Tugwell discovered a file on California migrant workers,

[184]Dorothea Lange and Christopher Cox, *Dorothea Lange* (New York, 1987), 9.

[185]Robert Coles and Dorothea Lange, *Dorothea Lange: Photographs of a Lifetime* (Oakland, 1995), 9.

compiled for the SERA by Lange and her husband, economist Paul Taylor, and brought it to the attention of Stryker. Inside the file were several photographs taken by Lange of urban poverty and agricultural despair on the west coast, which essentially captured the visual purpose of the RA and FSA.[186] Impressed by her work, Stryker asked her to begin taking photographs of the people and land for the purpose of historical documentation.

Stryker and Lange had an unstable working relationship. Problems began with Lange's insistence on living and working out of California instead of moving to Washington, D.C. This decision frustrated "Stryker's efforts to centralize administrative control of the project."[187] Dorothea Lange traveled anywhere the government asked her to go, but her work reflected her argument for living in the west. Staying in California gave her the ability to develop a more personal relationship with the relief clients than as a government official from Washington D.C. Lange discovered the necessary information to complete her photographic and written documentation by means of talking to and sharing the economic woes of Americans. Conducting fieldwork allowed Lange the opportunity to incorporate her objectives with those of the government.

Also, the issue of the legal possession of negatives and prints arose between Lange and Stryker. Lange felt strongly about maintaining personal control of the process and production of the negatives. She needed to have access to the photographs for purposes of providing information to local FSA offices and also for

[186]James Curtis, *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth: FSA Photographs Reconsidered* (Philadelphia, 1989), 13.

[187]Ibid., 15.

reports and exhibits she produced.[188] Lange eventually convinced Stryker to partly fund the use of a darkroom at Berkeley. Stryker allowed her to develop her film with one stipulation; she had to promise to give the department the original negatives and prints.[189] He wanted to have the negatives available within a central file; for the file was to be available for "users of various sorts [the media] …and the pictures would serve their various perspectives, it was hoped, [to] cast a favorable light on the agency."[190] The government also contended that the negatives belonged to them since they funded the photographers by means of film, earned wages, and travel expenses. As a result of Lange's stubbornness on this issue, on two occasions she was dropped from the payroll and was asked only to "provide negatives on a *per diem* basis."[191] Control ultimately became the issue with all of the photographers working for the RA/FSA.

Lange used local California newspapers to reach the affected communities. The photographs, as stated earlier, were meant to be historical documents of the rural American scene, but in an interview with Richard Doud, Lange acknowledged the government's exploitative intentions of documenting America during the economic and social depression. Lange took the opportunity to use her talents to reach and assist the migrant workers, farmers, and families in need of government relief. She did not resent her work being used for propaganda purposes because she also had

[188]Karin Becker Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition* (Baton Rouge, 1980), 101.

[189]Curtis, *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth,* 13.

[190]John Szarkowski, "Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor," in *Dorothea Lange: American Photographs*, ed. Therese Heyman, Sandra Phillips, and John Szarkowski (San Francisco, 1994), 50.

[191]Jacqueline Ellis, *Silent Witnesses: Representations of Working Class Women in the United States* (Bowling Green, 1998), 28.

similar goals.[192] In another interview concerning her continued work with the government, Lange stated,

> Everything is propaganda for what you believe in…. I don't see that it could be otherwise. The harder and more deeply you believe in anything, the more in a sense you're a propagandist. Conviction, propaganda, faith. I don't know, I never have been able to come to the conclusion that that's a bad word.[193]

She believed that her work would function for the purpose of government assistance to the relief clients. Yet her photographs did not reflect the government assistance given to all of the designated clients.

Dorothea Lange formed informal relationships with the individuals as she documented their stories. She would often approach the families explaining who she was and whom she represented, asking if she could photograph them. If they refused she would put the camera away and ask later. Each photograph had a complete story that she not only captured on film, but also documented through a spoken, and later written, dialogue between herself and the relief client.[194] According to Keith Davis,

> Her photographs are at once bluntly factual and deeply sympathetic. While

[192]Richard K. Doud, "Lange Interview with Richard K. Doud," in *Dorothea Lange: Farm Security Administration Photographs, 1935-1939*, vol. 2, ed. Howard Levine and Katherine Northrup (Glencoe, 1980), 63.

[193]Suzanne Reiss, "Selections from Dorothea Lange: The Making of a Documentary Photographer," in *Dorothea Lange: Farm Security Administration Photographs*, 49.

[194]Linda Morris, "A Woman of Our Generation," in *Dorothea Lange: A Visual Life*, ed. Elizabeth Partridge (Washington, 1994), 19.

> Lange recorded innumerable scenes of destitution, she consistently evoked the resilience, faith, and determination of her subjects. As a result, her photographs celebrate – the strength required to carry millions of people through this long, frightening chapter in the nation's history.[195]

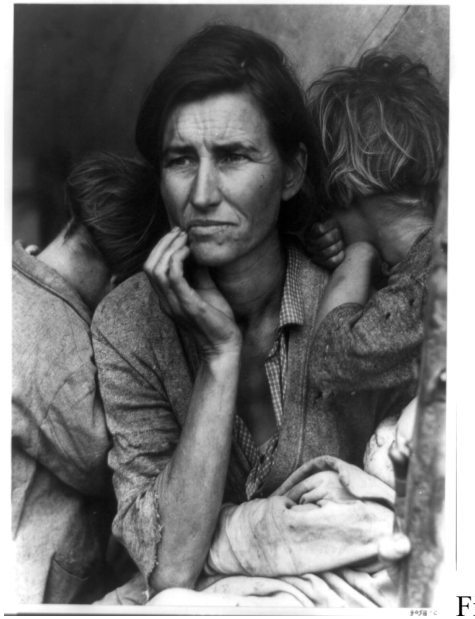

Fig. 1.1[196]

Dorothea Lange captured the anguish of many

[195]Keith F. Davis, *The Photographs of Dorothea Lange* (Kansas City, 1995), 7.

[196]"Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipoma, California," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USZ62-95653 <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fsaall:1:./temp/~pp_FJpz::>.

Americans as they felt trapped by forces beyond their control. These economic and social constraints challenged Lange, just as they challenged the government to assist in funding desperate conditions. One of the best and widely recognized examples of visible constraints is the depiction of the 'Migrant Mother' in *Destitute Pea Pickers in California*, February 1936 (fig. 1.1). While Dorothea Lange was on assignment, she passed a pea pickers' camp and decided to stop and interview some of the workers. According to Lange's personal account,

> I saw and approached a hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet. I do not remember how I explained my presence or my camera to her, but I do remember she asked me no questions. I made five exposures, working closer and closer from the same direction. I did not ask her name or her history. She told me her age, that she was 32. She said that they had been living on frozen vegetables from the surrounding fields, and birds that the children killed. She had just sold the tires from her car to buy food. There she sat in the lean-to tent with her children huddled around her, and she thought that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me.[197]

Some critics of Lange's work believe she posed the families to generate the desired effect. Some critics,

[197]Howard M. Levin and Katherine Northrup. ed., *Dorothea Lange: Farm Security Administration Photographs, 1935-1939*, vol. 1 (Glencoe, 1980), 136, (LC Photo Captions).

such as James Curtis, indicate that she created the scene for 'Migrant Mother.'

> Lange had the youngsters place their heads on their mother's shoulders, but turn their backs to the camera to avoid any problem of competing countenances and any exchanged glances that might produce unwanted effects. Again Migrant Mother looks away from the camera, but this time she is directed by Lange to bring her right hand to her face.[198]

Although Curtis tries to present his case as he dissects each of the photographs, he fails to provide documentation to prove his theory.[199] Dorothea Lange never staged her photographs, believing the depictions needed to reflect the actual truth.[200]

Much of Lange's documentary work has been questioned as to motive and purpose. She was often criticized for "spending time and federal money in a constant search for only one side of American Life—the 'human erosion.'"[201] In 1939, Lange and her husband wrote *An American Exodus*, which explicitly demands a call for action against the erosion and waste of life in the South. In the foreword of *An American Exodus*, Taylor describes the photo-documentary as a record of life as families migrate westward to escape the ominous Dust Bowl.

> Our work has produced the

[198]Curtis, *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth* 65.

[199]F. Jack Hurley, "The Farm Security Administration File: In and Out of Focus," *History of Photography* 17 (Fall 1993): 248.

[200]Coles, *Dorothea Lange: Photographs of a Lifetime,* 20-6; Morris, *Dorothea Lange: A Visual Life*, 19; Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition,* 57-69.

[201]Coles, *Dorothea Lange: Photographs of a Lifetime,* 26.

> book, but in the situations which we describe are living participants who can speak. Many whom we met in the field vaguely regarded conversation with us as an opportunity to tell what they are up against to their government and to their county-men at large. So far as possible we have let them speak to you face to face. Here we pass on what we have seen and learned from many miles of countryside of the shocks which are unsettling them.[202]

Rural poverty was stagnant in the South and middle states. Thousands of farm families were uprooted in order to survive. Between July 1, 1935 and March 31, 1938, more than 250,000 unemployed migrant workers moved to California.[203] Migrant farm labor programs were established within the RA/FSA, which essentially moved the people from one area of the country to another with provisional work camps as their home. Lange's photographs reflect this great migration as they searched for the government's promised rehabilitation. Some of her most poignant depictions of farmers and their land are preserved within the Dust Bowl series of 1937-38.

[202]Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor, *An American Exodus* (New York, 1975), 6.

[203]Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1968), 63.

Fig. 1.2[204]

Just like the problems created by the AAA, many landowners in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Kansas, were forced to dismiss the tenant farmers and sharecroppers who worked upon their land. Conditions within the South were deplorable. West Texas land was unproductive because of the dust storms, lack of rain, and the economic depression. In *Power Farming Displaces Tenants…, Childress County, Texas,* June 1938 (Fig. 1.2), Lange's caption reads, "Tractors replace not only the mules, but people. They cultivate to the very door of the houses of those whom they replace." The farmers had nothing in their fields. The barren land had been cultivated in every cardinal direction with the hope of fruitful production. The tractors, many funded by government provisions, made the work of tenants and

[204]"Power farming displaces tenants from the land in western dry cotton area. Childress County, Texas Panhandle," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-T01-O18281-C <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fsaall:1:./temp/~pp_umFA::>.

sharecroppers obsolete. Without work, many farm families from the Dust Bowl area were forced to leave their land and migrate westward.

Lange photographed many similar situations like the *Tractored Out* scene in order to depict the nation-wide phenomenon. In another depiction from the Texas Panhandle, she showed tenants holding out until the very end. In the photograph, *Former Texas Tenant Farmers displaced from their land by power farming*, Sunday morning, May 1937, five men, standing in front of a worn building, face the sun as Lange gathers visual and spoken information about their situation. Her designated caption for this photograph states, "All displaced tenant farmers. The oldest 33. All native Americans, none able to vote because of Texas poll tax. All on WPA. They support an average of four persons each on $22.80 a month. [tenants response to their situation] 'Where we gonna go?,' 'How we gonna get there?,' 'What we gonna do?,' 'Who we gonna fight?,' 'If we fight, what we gotta whip?'" This photograph is one of two versions of the men. The second version, *Six Tenant Farmers Without Farms,* June 1937, includes a little man standing in the far right, wearing dark clothes with his hands behind his back. In his essay "Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor," John Szarkowski states,

> In the *Five Farmer* version—the one Lange and Taylor used in their own book *An American Exodus*—each of the five would score well in a John Wayne look-alike contest; they are all big, strong, handsome, square-jawed men who fit perfectly our inherited notion of the representative white male Texan…, [but] to us the picture is more interesting with the sixth farmer because it is more complex and less like a political speech, but in 1938 it was *meant* to be like a political speech.[205]

The depictions were powerful in visual and written context. Many times, neither Stryker nor the administration would use photographs that reflected Lange's political statements in the publications. Instead, the RA/FSA chose to display depictions that evoked sympathy, which inevitably led to the public's support of the government's programs.

The RA/FSA created the Information Department to disseminate collected data for the purpose of Congressional appropriations to rural communities. The administration also had the intention of informing and conjuring up public support for the program as well as for the government by means of printed materials. "The published materials were addressed not to the people of the small towns, the editors of rural journals, or the political people in rural county courthouses, but rather to the presumably more literate and sophisticated people in the cities and among academic audiences, and to the editors of slick national publications." [206] These popular publications were not widely read by the communities that received government assistance. The effort of reaching diverse audiences to explain the functions of the RA/FSA cannot be accounted for within the farming communities. The government used these large publications to sensationalize their supporting role of rehabilitation. The government exploited the photographs as propaganda tools to generate support from wealthier Americans. The pictures used could evoke sympathy, but what were the visible effects of the propaganda among the affluent classes? If the purpose

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[205]Szarkowski, *Dorothea Lange: American Photographs,* 47.

[206]Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics,* 119.

was to inform, then why were publications for the agricultural sector left out? Unfortunately, without valid documentation, no one will know the extent to which the publications affected America. According to Naomi Rosenblum,

> The FSA images were considered truthful expression by some viewers and socialistic propaganda by others, who mistook the emphasis on social issues for socialism itself, but there is little doubt that at the time both the consciousness of those portrayed and the consciences of more affluent Americans were affected.[207]

Perhaps the government's attempt to rally support for this New Deal program went astray.

The government's rehabilitation and resettlement policies bypassed the needs of the very poorest farmers and tenants and helped only those who met certain economic, essentially racial, requirements. The hardest hit by the RA/FSA's discrimination were Southern African American farmers and sharecroppers. At that time, their low economic and social status deemed them ineligible for tenant purchase loans. The FSA selected clients whom they thought could repay loans in a timely manner; therefore, the selection procedure was essentially racially biased. Additionally, the government had difficulties in finding adequate settlements due to local racial discrimination against African American families.[208] Only a fraction of the "South's sharecropper and tenant population would ever be helped, and even then this assistance would not be

[207]Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York, 1981), 369.

[208]Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, 196.

enough to bring most of them out of a depressed and generally degraded condition in both the Delta and the Black Belt."[209] Even though the goals of the RA/FSA were to assist Americans in their fight against the Depression, the agencies discriminated against the black population because they did not meet the "standards" of assistance.

Fig. 1.3[210]

Dorothea Lange's photographs did not discriminate. Disregarding race, she captured the frustration, the distrust, and ultimately the erosion of humanity in America. Many of the black tenant farmers were forced to stay in the area in order to survive. In the

[209]T.H. Watkins, *The Hungry Years: A Narrative History of the Great Depression in America* (New York, 1999), 390.

[210]"Hoe Culture in the South. Near Eutaw, Alabama," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-T01-009539-C <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fsaall:1:./temp/~pp_XlVs::>.

photograph, *Hoe Culture in the South. Near Eutaw, Alabama*, July 1936 (Fig. 1.3), a family depends upon the land in order to make ends meet each year. According to Lange's caption, "Negro tenant family farms this field. There are five children, ages 7 to 14, all of whom work. The family earns about $150 a year. Just barely living—older children plowing, cultivating, younger children hoeing, 'chopping.'" Sharecropping and tenancy in the Delta region was the livelihood of many before the Depression struck. Machines replaced many farmers. Paul Taylor explains in *An American Exodus*, "mechanization accelerates the processd, for one man with tractor and four-row tillage equipment can do the work of eight mules and eight Negroes."[211] People everywhere were being replaced by technology. The work of a man no longer was worth as much, especially during a time of economic turmoil. Mobile labor became a continuous pattern. Not only were the laborers on the road looking for work, but there was also an increase in faster moving machines replacing them.[212]

The rehabilitation of rural families was the designated function of the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration. In order to provide relief the government, as in past relief attempts, set up land and housing opportunities for destitute farm families. In 1935, Rexford Tugwell and his administration experimented with several building techniques. The first few rehabilitation-housing efforts were constructed from heavy prefabricated slabs of concrete or seventeen-inch earthen walls: neither functioned as viable material for long-term purposes. Under the FSA, "experiments were made in all-steel and

[211]Lange and Taylor, *An American Exodus*, 40.

[212]C.E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States: Works Progress Administration Division of Research* (Washington, 1939), 65.

in cotton-duck construction."[213] Rapid prefabrication of frame constructed homes led to lower construction costs. The buildings, however, were required to meet high standards for basic human needs: all houses were to contain inside toilets, baths, electric wiring, and some furnishings. In 1937 the standard house design was reorganized in order to cut unnecessary costs. The administration limited building costs in the South to $1,200 and in the North $2,100, with respect to the different climates.[214] With new limits, some of the houses were smaller and did not contain all of the required necessities. Although the expenses for the housing project totaled well over one billion dollars, the RA/FSA took pride in assisting over one million relief clients.[215]

Lange, nonetheless, continued documenting the rural landscapes and continued to emphasize the need for rehabilitation. On occasion, Stryker would give Lange assignments to document the government projects, such as the migratory work camps or rehabilitation housing, in order to display the successes of the RA/FSA.[216]

[213]Conkin, *Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, 1959), 171.

[214]Ibid., 171.

[215]Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, 200, 223, 249, and 317. The numbers are a rough estimate of the financial assistance noted throughout the text of this paper. Many people received government aid during the RA/FSA's tenure. These pages reflect a general understanding of the impact of the program.

[216]Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition,* 97.

Fig. 1.4[217]

Dorothea Lange documented much of the permanent and impermanent housing while on assignment. In, *Washington, Yakima Valley, near Wapato*, August 1939 (fig. 1.4), Lange captures a brief moment when a child reflects upon the living conditions provided by the government. A quote from the child (Lois Adolf Houle) fifty years later explained a portion of her story.

> Back on the Colorado plains it was terrible. We survived there as long as we possibly could. But we had dust storms and droughts—the wind would come and pick up our crops and just absolutely destroy them.… My dad's sister was out here already, and she wrote back saying this was the land of milk and honey. I guess we were doomed to come to the state of Washington…. [W]e had to go on relief. We got food and sometimes clothes.[218]

[217]"Washington, Yakima Valley, near Wapato. One of Chris Adolph's younger children. Farm Security Administration Rehabilitation clients," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-020397-C <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fsaall:1:./temp/~pp_ZE9K::>.

The family was only one of the thousands that received relief from the government. In the photograph, *Migrant Worker Camp, Eloy, Arizona,* November 1940, small, unadorned houses reflect the standard appearance of the prefabricated government dwellings found throughout America. Conditions did not necessarily improve with financial assistance. Many who received aid were never able to pull themselves out of economic distress, even after the Depression.

During Lange's tenure with the RA/FSA, the administration had many financial battles with its employees. Karin Ohrn notes, "Lange's work with the FSA was irregular; she was terminated twice during the four-year period, and occasionally she worked part time…. [W]hen she was paid a salary, it was often less than the other photographers." [219] In 1939, Dorothea Lange's employment with the FSA was terminated due to a major budget cut and her tumultuous relationship with Stryker and the other administrators. Dorothea Lange was an independent photographer who documented what she thought reflected the landscape of America. Her depictions were truthful and would never alter the facts. She noticed and documented the inner strength of people who were struggling with economic, social, and emotional circumstances. She became one of the "key architects in shaping our vision of the human costs of the Dust Bowl and the Depression."[220] The

[218]Bill Ganzel, *Dust Bowl Descent* (Lincoln, 1984), 29.

[219]Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition,* 109.

[220]Morris, *Dorothea Lange: A Visual Life,* 15.

photographs depicted the problems the government wanted to solve.

The Resettlement Administration and Farm Security Administration utilized Dorothea Lange's photographs as leverage to increase support for its work. The depictions were found in popular publications, which essentially sensationalized the government's role in rural rehabilitation. Surprisingly, the farming communities themselves were not the target audience of the publications and support from rural communities fell wayside. Lange, however, attempted to gain local support by providing newspapers with photographs and brief explanations of the documents.[221] Through her recorded visual evidence of isolation, despair, and destitution, Lange was an activist who desired to reach and assist the migrant workers, farmers, and the families in need of government relief. Propaganda was only a means to an end.

[221]Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition,* 101.

The Journey Over: An Oral History of Polish Immigration to America in the Early Twentieth Century

Julie Mortimer

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The last decades of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century brought a new wave of immigrants to the United States. In the years before 1880, 85% of immigrants came from Western Europe, whereas after 1880, 80% of immigrants came from Slavic nations, such as Poland.[222] What reasons brought these immigrants to America? What were their traveling conditions? What realities did they have to adjust to in America and how did they make these adjustments? Does the evidence support Oscar Handlin's theory that "immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted" while trying to adjust, or was John Bodnar's theory correct that these immigrants were transplanted and found adjusting easier? This article uses oral interviews with Mary Ann Choyce and oral histories from the Chicago Historical Society's Polonia Project Interviews to answer these questions.

On December 29, 2000, February 18, February 20, and March 12, 2001, I interviewed my grandmother, Mary Ann Choyce, whose maiden name was Marianna

[222]J.L. Roark, *The American Promise: A History of the United States from 1865* (Boston, 1998).

Budz and then transcribed the interviews. These interviews examine the events in the life of a young Polish girl migrating to New York and Chicago from Poland (nine years earlier released from Austrian rule) in 1929. Three main events structured the interviews: Mary's life in the farm village of Rogoznik, Poland; her journey to Ellis Island from Warsaw, Poland; and her transition from farm life in Rogoznik to city life in Chicago. The interviews examined the questions: What were the conditions in Poland or in Mary's family that resulted in their moving to the U.S.? Was the journey over difficult? What transitions did Mary have to make in her life, after her migration, in the city of Chicago, and how did she and her family react to these transitions?

Marianna Budz was born in 1920 to Katherine and Jacob Budz, in the farming village of Rogoznik, Poland.[223] At this time, Poland had just received its independence, and the village of Rogoznik was no longer under Austrian rule. Four years later Jacob and his son John were shoveling peat moss on the family farm, which would later be cut into bricks to fuel the stove, when Jacob hit his big toe with the shovel. He became so enraged that he supposedly shouted, "things are so hard over here, I'm not staying in this crazy country. I'm going to my brother and borrowing money."[224] He then went inside to tell Katherine, "I'm going …to America. When I get enough of money I'll send for the rest [of you]."[225] Certainly, a small accident on a farm was not the cause of Jacob's decision to leave for America. What was the actual cause? In order to

[223]Interview 2, 7. Transcripts of relevant portions of the interviews are available at *Historia*online, see http://www.eiu.edu/~historia/2001/transcripts.htm.

[224]Interview 1, 1.

[225]Interview 2, 7.

answer this question one must analyze what had been occurring in Europe and the United States in the decades before 1923.

Before 1923, immigrants traveled in huge groups to America's major cities. Foreign-born individuals and their American-born children constituted a majority in America's big cities. Immigrants believed that America offered jobs and hopes that problem-ridden Poland did not offer. With nation-wide economic troubles, famines, and religious persecution back at home, immigrants fled to America with hopes of finding prosperity and acceptance.

The majority of these immigrants, 75% by 1900, were single young men who had previously been "peasants, farmers and villagers."[226] One of these men was Jacob Budz, a Polish farmer who had just finished two years of compulsory army service. He left for Chicago, where he quickly got a job working for Swift and Company regulating the lard vats.[227] As a devout Catholic, he frequently attended St. Joseph Church where he was to meet the woman he would marry, Katherine Scislowicz.

Katherine was about sixteen when she traveled to America alone. It was not until years later that her sisters would join her in America. In the early twentieth century, it was unusual for women to travel alone. If they did it was typically because they were reuniting with husbands or fathers who had left before them. Perhaps Katherine traveled alone because she was raised by less traditional parents, or was accompanied by someone from her village.[228]

Soon after arriving in Pennsylvania in 1904, Katherine decided "she didn't like Pennsylvania." She

[226]Roark, *The American Promise*, 671.

[227]Interview 2, 7.

[228]Interview 3, 1.

moved to Chicago and lived with her brother Tom, and worked at Swift and Company in the Sliced Bacon Department. Tom introduced to Katherine to Jacob and, in 1908, they got married at St. Joseph Church.[229]

They found a house close to the stockyards and had two children, John in 1909 and Anna in 1910. In the next four years, Katherine visited Poland twice so her parents could see their grandchildren and she could visit the life she missed. In 1914, "she talked …[Mary's] father into going with her," and they returned to a Europe filled with turmoil.[230]

They had arrived just as World War I broke out. Jacob, having spent two years in compulsory service, was drafted by the Austrian Army and for a period of 4 years and continued to fight for an additional two years for Poland's independence.[231] In the meantime, two more children were born, Andy in 1918 and Marianna in 1920. Jacob returned after the war to the farm, which Katherine had managed for the past eight years, and where they had their fifth child, Angela in 1924. "They were so broke" and "Poland was so hurt …and there were so many sicknesses after six years of war in Europe" that Jacob felt he had no other choice but to leave again for America.[232] Six years later, the rest of the Budz family would join him.

Was the Budz's cause for leaving Poland, Poland's economic strife, typical of most Polish immigrants? It is true that many immigrants did leave because of the hardships caused by the war, such as poor living conditions. Aleksandra Lezaj left Poland due to bad conditions after the war and the inflation. She traveled to Ellis Island alone at the age of 22 and took a

[229]Interview 3, 1.
[230]Interview 2, 5.
[231]Interview 2, 6.
[232]Interview 2, 7.

train to Chicago to meet her husband, who had traveled there earlier to avoid the World War I draft.[233]

Catherine Kozik came to America with her family and to rejoin her father, who came over in 1902 because farming had become too hard. Her family was forced to leave Poland in 1912 because a flood came and ruined their crops, leaving them with no food.[234] Similarly, Sister Mary Imelda Kryger came to this country years after her father had already arrived. She traveled with her mother and three sisters to Ellis Island in 1905.[235]

Interestingly, none of these women traveled to America independently as Katherine did. Instead, they all left to rejoin their husbands or fathers in America. This fits the observation that most Polish woman did not travel alone to America, and certainly not as independents looking for work. In addition, it seems that some of these women left Poland due to poor post-war conditions. Others left due to poor pre-war conditions. Both Poland's economic strife after the war and poor farming conditions throughout the beginning of the twentieth century were common causes of emigration. Therefore, the Budz's cause for leaving Poland fit the norm.

John had been sent to America in 1927, and Anna was supposed to leave in 1928 but her passport and papers did not arrive in time.[236] Therefore, Anna left with Katherine, Andrew, Mary, and Angela in 1929. They traveled by horse and buggy to Novy-Targ, and then took a train to Warsaw. At Warsaw a problem

[233]Interview # LEZ-075, Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia: Slayton, *Back of the Yards*.
[234]Interview # KOX-113, Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia: Slayton, *Back of the Yards*.
[235]Interview #KRY-012, Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia: Slayton, *Back of the Yards.*
[236]Interview 2, 8, and 10.

occurred. When they arrived at the station, Katherine asked at the desk for Anna's passport and papers, but they were not there.

Katherine became "real stubborn and went to the office and she said 'This girl was suppose to leave two years ago, and she still hasn't got her papers. Where are her papers…? I'm ready to leave with my family…. I'm not leaving until you find her papers.'" Moments later the papers where brought to Katherine. "They misfiled her papers."[237] With the problem solved, the Budzs boarded the boat to America, carrying their suitcase and "a real big trunk full of feather ticks and pillows."[238]

Anna was placed in second class because Jacob had paid for her second class ticket two years before. The rest of the family shared a room in third class because it was the cheapest.[239] The family would often visit Anna in second class where she roomed with "two other girls [that were] going across." Her room was larger and "had no bunk beds." The rest of the Budzs slept in a third class room with "two bunk beds", one on each side of the room, and "a desk …in the middle." The first class rooms had their own bathrooms, but the second and third class bathrooms were shared.[240]

The trip lasted fourteen days and had its share of discomforts. Mary was sick for most of the trip. She was so sick that every morning her mother would place her "on deck in a chair and …give …[her] conuk[241] in the tea to settle …[her] stomach."[242] "Angela was just a little bit sick, she …got around, and Andrew was a wild

[237]Interview 1, 1.
[238]Interview 2, 11.
[239]Interview 2, 10.
[240]Interview 1, 2.
[241]Conuk is a strong whiskey, similar to rum.
[242]Interview 1,1.

man." Not used "to toilet paper …and a mischievous twelve year old, …he used to pull [out the toilet paper] and run all over the ship [with it]."[243] Though hard for modern day Americans to contemplate, Andrew had never seen toilet paper before and had never used a bathroom besides the outhouses on the farm in Poland.[244] Therefore, even toilet paper was a delight to Andrew. The meals were also delightful, but Mary "didn't eat much." She was so sick in fact that her "mother thought …[she] was going to die."[245]

Once they exited the ship at Ellis Island, they entered an area filled with doctors. "You could not get into America if there was anything wrong with you …[because] there were an awful lot of people with tuberculosis." Allowing these people to enter America would spread contagious disease. Her "sister Angela …was allergic [sic] and so she always had red eyelids and little scabby eyes." The doctors would not let Angela out of Ellis Island without a thorough examination to make sure it was not a serious disease. "The doctors looked at …[her] eyes and …[her] mother thought they weren't going to let her in." They eventually allowed her to leave Ellis Island and the family boarded a train in New York heading for Chicago.[246] Jacob met them in Chicago, and Mary saw her father for the first time in six years. Her only memory of him was from when she was three years old and he was leaving for Chicago. She remembered "it was a man with a mustache."[247] He could have been any man in the station but when her mother pointed him out,

[243]Interview 1, 2.
[244]Interview 2, 8.
[245]Interview 2, 9.
[246]Interview 2, 11.
[247]Interview 2, 9.

they ran to greet him and Mary's life in the United States began.

Many immigrants had similar traveling experiences as the Budzs had on their journey to America. Alexandra Lezaj took the boat over to meet her husband in Chicago where he held a job and rented an apartment. Her one memorable thought while traveling was that America looked ugly through the train windows.[248] Catherine Kozik felt that it was "rough on the boat." Everyone traveled on one large boat, where they slept on cots lined up alongside of one another. But, the bakery food was good, and she spent all her time talking with the other travelers. The trip lasted about two weeks and her ticket had been paid for ahead of time. Once the ship landed in Baltimore, she took a train to Chicago to live with her brother.[249]

Similarly, Sister Mary Imelda Krygen was on the ship across the Atlantic for twenty days. Her mother was seasick. The food was delicious, especially the barrel of herring that was placed on deck for anyone to eat from anytime they wanted. Once at Ellis Island they were not allowed to leave for two weeks while doctors examined her sister, who had allergies. Once they were allowed to leave, they took a train to Chicago to meet her father.[250]

Although some immigrants had very similar experiences to the Budzs, other immigrants had very different experiences. For example, Anna Blazewicz traveled with her two sisters, her twenty-one year old brother and two men dodging the WWI draft. They were forced to go through five countries, hide in Rotterdam, crossed the Atlantic in record time, four

[248]Interview #LEZ-075.
[249]Interview #KOZ-113.
[250]Interview #KRY-012.

days, and arrived in New York on September 4, 1912.[251] Caroline Kalisz also traveled through a few countries. She went from Ropa, Poland to Gdansk to Liverpool to New York and then to Chicago.[252]

The journey over appears to have been much more complicated than one would have expected. Many obstacles fell into these travelers' paths. The first hassle was getting the papers and the passports, which were sometimes misplaced. Once on the ship, the immigrants had to adapt to the stormy weather, seasickness, and living in close confines with other travelers. For example, both Mary and Sister Mary's mother were seasick.

Also, there were additional hardships for travelers not going directly to America. Unlike Mary's journey, Anna Blazewicz took large risks because of her choice of companions. They had to make fast getaways, hide out from authorities, take unusual routes, and land in Baltimore instead of New York, presumably because two of the men were dodging the draft. Also, Caroline Kalisz had to travel through many countries and unusual ways to get to a ship that would bring her to America. Clearly, there were many paths one could travel to get to America, and even more risks and challenges to overcome.

After the Budzs arrived in America, Jacob brought his family to their new apartment located at 47th and Palina Avenue. It was a "flat" consisting of three bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen. Jacob and Katherine slept in one room, "John had a bedroom and Anna …slept on a cot in the living room."[253] The rest of

[251]Interview #BLA-050, Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia: Slayton, *Back of the Yards*.
[252]Interview #KAL-109, Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia: Slayton, *Back of the Yards*.
[253]Interview 2, 12.

the children slept in cots in the kitchen. They lived above a tavern and Mary's first recollection was thinking, "Oh my God, we have to walk up all those stairs."[254] The stairs were so high that Mary thought, "Oh my God we're going up to heaven."[255] Having no basement or second floor in their house in Poland, even stairs were a new addition to Mary's world.

Many immigrants seem to have lived in flats, around the south side of Chicago. Alexandra Lezaj remembers her first two-room house.[256] Anna Blazewicz lived in Bridgeport.[257] Sister Mary Imelda Krygen lived in a two-flat in Melrose Park.[258]

In these neighborhoods immigrant children found their place in local organizations and attended local schools. Mary and her siblings were immediately placed into Sacred Heart School. Mary was placed in second grade but because she quickly learned the English language, she was promoted to third grade after only six months. She was assisted after school by "a young teacher in second grade" who kept Mary after school and "would teach …[her] to read and …would translate everything" for Mary from Polish to English.[259] Catherine Kozic, like Mary, attended Catholic school and was placed a year behind.

Mary was brought to school by a neighbor, a seventh grade girl, whose father owned the tavern below the Budz's apartment. As a native born American, she watched out for the children. During the cold winters she bundled them up, covering up their hands and faces to keep them warm, and led them to school everyday.[260]

[254]Interview 4, 1.
[255]Interview 2, 12.
[256]Interview #LEZ-075.
[257]Interview #BLA-050.
[258]Interview #KRY-012.
[259]Interview 4, 4.
[260]Interview 4, 2.

When they didn't have to study or do homework, Mary and her siblings "played jump rope…, played ball…, played jacks on the porch…, or sometimes in the evenings… [they would] play cards" with their father.[261] Mary also joined Sokol, a Polish organization similar to modern-day girl scouts and went swimming in Davis Park. Catherine Kosic spent her free time in many organizations similar to Mary's, such as the Sokolnia Youth Club.[262] Many Polish immigrants were Roman Catholic and involved themselves in church activities. Sister Mary Imelda Krygen joined many church organizations when she arrived here as a child.[263]

There were also new social situations and experiences. Mary's first obstacle was to adapt to living with her father and brother again. Though Mary and her siblings loved their father, they did not know him well and so they usually "went to …[their] mother, especially Andy."[264] They were used to their mother because she had been their only parent for most of their lives. Yet, they adapted to having a father in their house by spending time with him in activities, such as playing cards.

Similar to Mary, Catherine had not seen her father in many years and did not recognize him when her mother pointed him out. She said, "So there was a man there, and he was supposed to be my father."[265] Alexandra Blazewicz never forgot seeing African Americans for the first time.[266]

One wonders if these Polish immigrants were uprooted, in a state of crisis, or transplanted, in a state of

[261]Interview 4, 4.
[262]Interview #KOZ-113.
[263]Interview #KRY-012.
[264]Interview 4, 3.
[265]Interview #KOZ-113.
[266]Interview #BLA-050.

transition. The difference in terminology can best be described by plant behavior. A plant that is uprooted will likely die—it is in crisis—but a plant that is transplanted, struggles to adjust, but will likely survive. Oscar Handlin believed immigrants where uprooted or in a crisis state while trying to make the adjustment from being farmers in small communities in Europe to living in large overpopulated cities in the U.S. "Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed."[267] Handlin thought they never truly adjusted; instead, they tried to hold on to old customs while their families fell apart and all their customs were lost.

Bodnar, on the other hand, agreed that the adjustment was challenging but did not believe that these immigrants were in a crisis. He believed that prior Marxist and Progressive historical thought "paid insufficient attention to the struggle and perceptions of individuals."[268] While Handlin's research was based primarily on American historians' observations of how immigrants reacted to their new environment, Bodnar based his research on the first-hand experience of immigrants. Bodnar suggested that by getting involved in the community, sticking together as a family and by having friends in America to help them, adjustment was easier and so they were really "transplanted." The evidence from the interviews seems to suggest that they were, in fact, transplanted, rather than uprooted.

Though the move to America was hard on Mary, she does not describe the adjustment as a crisis, nor did her family fall apart. Mary, Catherine Kozic, and Sister

[267]Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1915), 5.

[268]John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, 1944), 207.

Mary Imelda Krygen joined community activities to help with their adjustment.

In addition, Mary drew close to her family members. Mary spent her free time playing with her siblings or spending time with her parents. Her time with them helped the family stick together during their adjustment. Her "mother was there to take care of" her, and because of this she "never gave it [her adjustment] a thought."[269] Even Handlin admitted that the family "drew steadily together" after arriving in the U.S. Yet, he described this trend as a necessity to exist in their crisis state and not as a transition technique.[270]

Bodnar's suggestion that "kin and friends were free to assist each other in entering America by providing access to jobs, and homes," applies to Mary and her parents.[271] Neighbors and teachers helped Mary to adjust. Her seventh grade neighbor bundled Mary up with warm clothes in the winter and brought Mary and her siblings to school everyday. Mary's second grade teacher spent extra time with her after school to help her learn English. As for Jacob, letters written by his relatives informed him of jobs in the Pennsylvania coalmines and Katherine was sponsored by her relative in the United States.

[269]Interview 4, 1.

[270]Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 206.

[271]Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, 83.

These methods for adjustment worked so well that Mary never thought to ask "when are we going back." "America was right away …[her] home." She felt America "was a new experience" and her journey here "had to be done."[272] Clearly, she and most immigrants were transplanted in America and not uprooted from Poland.

Overall, immigrants came to America due to a variety of Poland's poor pre- and post-war conditions. They came to America hoping for better lives. The journey over to America was difficult and immigrants had to overcome a variety of obstacles, such as seasickness, bad weather and living in very close confines with other passengers. After examining their experiences on the journey and their methods of adjustment, one can see that they still faced many challenges, but they were transplanted and managed to find a number of ways to make their transition easier.

[272]Interview 4, 1.

The Role of "Agrarian Anarchism" in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War

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Anarchism is a very polarizing and emotional topic. The historiography about anarchism in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War in the 1930s is often very biased and resembles more political debates than sober analyses. It is even very political if the events in Spain of 1930s are called "Civil War" only, and not "Revolution." As most of the monographs or articles published on Spanish Anarchism have been written by anarchists themselves, many of them contemporaries of the struggles, anarchist violence is disproportionately little discussed. Many examples of anarchist collective's successes seem "apparently arbitrarily"[273] chosen. One historian even mentions that anarchists joined the Republican government only in a footnote while condemning the "cruel and methodical assault" of "Communist and Republican forces."[274] Some anarchist

[273]Hugh Thomas, "Anarchist Collectives in the Spanish Civil War," in *A Century of Conflict. 1850-1950*, ed. Martin Gilbert (New York, 1967), 249.

[274]Joel Olson, "The Revolutionary Spirit: Hannah Arendt and the Anarchists of the Spanish Civil War", *Polity* 29, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 461-9 (Infotrac online fulltext version used; therefore no page numbers in quotes).

historians deduce "historic truth" from anarchist principles.[275]

How did contemporaries and historians perceive "agrarian anarchism" in Spain in the 1930s? What were its long-term outcomes? An analysis of the literature reveals that the Anarchists' success was more indirect than direct. It had its most influential effects with the publication and distribution of its goals among the population. At the end of the 20th century for example, models of welfare, workers' rights, equality, and mutual aid are present and realized to a larger extent in Europe's societies than they were at its beginning. For a long time, primary sources have been underused for the coverage of this topic. Jerome Mintz's *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* and Michael Seidman's *Agrarian Collectives during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War* took the first steps to bridge the gaps anarchist's memoirs and the non-availability of primary sources during the rule of Franco left open. This article focuses on the period of collectivization and the role of agrarian anarchism in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War.

Potential for "Agrarian Anarchism" in Spain

Rural Spanish society in the early twentieth century was still characterized by feudal structures.[276] Agrarian problems and the psychology of peasants and landlords remained "much the same as they had been in 1600."[277] Economic and social power was monopolized in the hands of few. A majority of the population, a large

[275]This is especially evident for Myrna Margulier Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice of Anarchist Decentralism in Spain 1936-1939: The Integration of Community and Environment" (Ph. D diss., Clark University, 1978), who applies the theories of "federalist" Peter Kropotkin to the Spanish Revolution.

[276]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 110: "deeply embedded feudal order."

[277]Gabriel Jackson, "The Origins of Spanish Anarchism," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 36 (1955): 143.

one in the Andalusian south, were economically impoverished landless seasonal laborers, the *braceros* or daily-contract workers called *jornaleros*, both at the mercy of their landlords, the *patrons*. The landlords controlled the amount of cultivated land and with it the unemployment. The higher the unemployment was, the lower the wages could be.[278]

Most of the landlords had no relation to their land and often did not live on it. They also were detached from their land cultivators, whom they treated "less than animals."[279] The amount of uncultivated land even rose in the early twentieth century and further contributed to the undernourishment of an estimated one-half of the Spanish population on the eve of the Civil War.[280] The high rate of illiteracy and its accompanying economic and cultural disadvantages contributed to the "wide gulf between rich and poor"[281] too: a gulf that included social, economic, and also cultural aspects with a deep sense of alienation from both sides.

The owners of the large landed estates, the *latifundarios*, did not play the role of *patrones* as intermediaries to the state, and, as we will see,

[278]To my knowledge there is no reliable census data that could give relatively exact numbers. The literature agrees however that it was a large majority. Gerald Brenan, "The Background of the Agrarian and Clerical Problems," in *The Spanish Civil War: Domestic Crisis or International Conspiracy?*, ed. Gabriel Jackson (Boston, 1967), 10 talks about of "three quarters."

[279]Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868, 1936* (New York, 1977), 93. He also quotes an English geographer who asked a land-worker-women about the living conditions: "'Yes, we live here. Worse than pigs.' At which the [land]owner beside me exclaimed indignantly: 'You have a roof over your head. What more do you want?'"

[280]Brenan, "The Background," 10; Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 108.

[281]Brenan, "The Background," 12, 14: In 1870 "something like 60 per cent of the population."

governmental institutions could not fill this gap. There were several reasons for this: "the state" was to a large extent considered foreign in the parts of impoverished Spain simply because it was Castillian.[282] Another reason to question the necessity of its institutions was the fact that for example in Andalusia villages had run themselves without them for a long time. The introduction of capitalism with its implications for the landless proletariat, high expectations and high disillusionment with the "land reforms" of 1835, 1931, and 1934 were additional reasons for cutting the last ties between the landless and the state.[283] The introduction of the *Guardia Civil* in the late nineteenth century, one of the few elements of presence of the state in the countryside, is another factor that contributed to the peasants alienated view towards the central government which had "countermanded *campesino* custom and brought about a reign of disorder and injustice [sustaining] the idle, unproductive rich and [protecting] them in their exploitation of the workers."[284] The *Guardia Civil*, considered a "natural enemy" of the

[282]And not "Spanish" as E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1959), 81. For more information on the Anti-Castillian aspect see Jackson, "The Origins," 138, 145.

[283]Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 82; Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 121; Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 94, 97 (In 1885, the ecclesiastical and common land was distributed; not to the *braceros* however); Robert W. Kern, *Red Years/Black Years: A Political History of Spanish Anarchism 1911-1937* (Philadelphia, 1978), 113 ("The new legislation [of 1931] raised expectations without delivering land to the peasants."); José Peirats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* (London, 1990), 76f.

[284]Jerome R. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (Bloomington, 1994), 82.

peasants, became as such a "recruiting officer" for Spanish anarchism.[285]

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Church steadily lost its influence on the poor and became a church of the middle and upper classes. The feelings of peasants, the *campesinos* towards the church were very negative; their dislike not necessarily meaning that they also had abandoned religion.[286] This alienation opened a gap into which Spanish anarchism could jump. The "religious phraseology" of some of its incarnations and millenarian elements let some scholars declare it a religion itself.[287]

Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War

When Bakunin's emissary Guiseppe Fanelli arrived in Spain in 1869 to spread anarchism the "seed was deposited in fertile soil."[288] "Chronic social upheaval"[289] since the second half of the 19th century had developed a tradition of resistance and a quasi-natural affinity to anarchist's "direct action." Was anarchism "imported" into the countryside?

[285]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 119; Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 81; and Robert Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien: Zur Rolle des Anarchismus im spanischen Bürgerkrieg* (Aachen, 1986), 12.

[286]Brenan, "The Background," 12; Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casa Viejas*, 68. See also Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 81 ("church of the rich"); Brenan, "The Background," 16, and Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 120 (Their feelings ranged from "sense of betrayal" to "hatred"); Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 71 ("My mother was religious, but at least she had this virtue: she was against priests").

[287] Jackson, "The Origins," 144, 138. He quotes a verse of July 1936: "*La Virgen del Pilar dice / Que no quiere ser feixista / Es el capitan general / Del partido anarchista*": The virgin of Pilar declares she is no facist; she is captain general of the anarchists.

[288] Jackson, *The Origins*, 147. Similarly see Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 99: "congenial soil for anarchism".

[289] Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 97.

For anarchists such as the major historian of the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT), José Peirats, this question is easy to answer: the CNT was the "muscle and the brain" of the first agrarian revolution in Spain.[290] Collectivization was besides being part of the "peasant subconscious" also the "natural outcome of many decades of anarchist propaganda," and Spanish anarchists had an "excessively urban orientation" as well as urban origins.[291] The importance of urban anarchist propaganda has to be put in perspective. Especially in the countryside, "theory" was not very popular. Indeed, illiteracy was high. For example, in the Andalusian village Casas Viejas in 1932, the socialists reportedly had the "most educated and intelligent people." The CNT had those who couldn't read or write.[292] The CNT propaganda has also been criticized to be very unbalanced and "relying on the peasant's ignorance of the existence of other points of view, hoping to win them over while keeping them essentially ignorant."[293]

For some anarchist historians it was to a lesser extent because of propaganda but more because of the appeal of free association and autonomy that anarchism

[290]Founded 1910-11, and the major anarchist organization with over one million members at its peak; Peirats, *Anarchists*, 135.

[291]Daniel Guerin, "Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution" <http://www.geocities.com/ CapitolHill/ Lobby/3998/AnSpain.html>, 7/8/2000; Peirats, *Anarchists*, 137, 14; In hindsight Peirats acknowledges the neglect of the countryside as being a failure. See also Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 97, 102 (intellectuals in cities played the "initiating role in establishing a nucleus").

[292]José Suárez in the newspaper *El Pueblo* (August 26, 1932), quoted in Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 131.

[293]Bryan Caplan, "The Anarcho-Statists of Spain: An Historical, Economic, and Philosphical Analysis of Spanish Anarchism" <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/bcaplan/spain.txt>, 7/8/2000.

had for Spanish workers and peasants; emphasizing that workers, not intellectual theoreticians shaped the movement and the initiative of peasants was *the* crucial element.[294]

An answer to the question where the anarchist initiative in the Spanish countryside derived probably lies in between "peasant" and "urban intellectual." A quote from Buenaventura Durruti describes the link:

> *Mais creio que o proletariado espanhol aprendeu mais com as experiências práticas que os anarquistas lhe proporcionaram a ocasião de viver, do que através de todas as publicações que estes editaram e que aquele não leu.*[295]

Anarchism spread through the countryside less because of the pamphlets and more because of the intermediaries who delivered them and their philosophy to the villages. The crucial role in the development of agrarian anarchism of those *obreros conscientes*, the men "who had ideas," cannot be underestimated. Losing them meant losing almost everything for the anarchist movement. Because of their ethical standards and lifestyle, avoidance of alcohol, tobacco, or gambling, and the millenarian elements of the agrarian anarchism many historians referred to them as "apostles" who

[294]Deirdre Hogan, "The Freedom to succeed: The Anarchist Collectives in the Countryside during the Spanish Civil War" <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/ws99/ws56_spain.html>, 7/8/2000; also printed in *Workers Solidarity* 56 (March 1999).

[295]César M. Lorenzo, *Les anarchistes et le pouvoir 1868-1969* (Paris 1969), 157, quoted in Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 33. Free translation by the author: "But I think that the Spanish proletariat learned more through the practical experiences, which the anarchists made possible for them to undergo, as through all the publications the anarchists published and the proletariat did not read."

"converted" the peasants.[296] In "personal traits, style of life, and techniques of preaching" they resembled the "friars of old" but through them "salvation would come not through charity and mystical faith, but through social revolution and knowledge."[297] Tragically for the movement those carriers of Anarchism, people like Jose Olmo, Anselmo Lorenzo, Isaac Puente, or Fermin Salvochea, were very few and there was a "sharp division" between them and other members concerning the commitment to the cause.[298] Most of the "ordinary" peasants who joined the anarchist movement for whatever reason, be it land, education,[299] or just the tradition of conformity, did not want to avoid the amenities of the village's coffee house or the fiestas. If anarchist activists and theorists were the lighter to the bomb in the Spanish countryside, the *obreros conscientes* were the fuse.

When and how did Spanish Agrarian Anarchism expand? First declarations of anarchist communism, *comunismo libertario*, are recorded before 1936[300] but with the rightist's coup in July 1936 the declarations and collectivization of land initiating from the local level increased significantly. In some villages two separate

[296]Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 81,84, 88; Jackson, *Origins of Spanish Anarchism*; Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 92; Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 154. On the non existing millenarianism in Casas Viejas and the relating Hobsbawm critique see Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 271-276.

[297]Jackson, "The Origins," 141.

[298]Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 164.

[299]As mentioned above, peasants were open to the anarchist's emphasis on education to find a way out of the disadvantages of illiteracy. It should not be too much education though so that the children would stay in the village.

[300]Already in 1934 libertarian communism was "briefly declared by anarchosyndicalists in a few small towns" Stanley G. Payne, *Spain's First Democracy. The Second Republic 1931-1936* (Madison, 1993), 217.

collectives[301] were established, one consisting of CNT members, the other one consisting of members of the CNT's most important rival, the socialist trade union, the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT).

The coverage of collectivization until late 1936 is very difficult to answer. Most anarchist historians' publications claim 90% of Catalonia was collectivized.[302] Other accounts refer to "three quarters" or "more than one half"[303] of the land area of the Republic. Recent research offers a different view. Perhaps only 18.5% of the land in the Republican zone was collectivized. In combination with the low percentage of the population involved it can be concluded that collectivization was a "minority phenomenon even in the Republican zone."[304]

Anarchist historians enthusiastically report increases in production in the collectivized areas. According to Deidre Hogan, harvests had increased by up to five times. But the numbers vary widely. They have to be put into perspective of the significant regional differences, the inclusion of formerly uncultivated land, the statistical problems that will be discussed below, and most of all, the short time during that most of the collectives existed, none exceeding two years.

Most anarchists argue the peasants joined the collectives voluntarily. Some admit that sometimes the "creative initiative …had been stimulated by a

[301]Peirats, *Anarchists*, 140.

[302]Dan Family, "The Spanish Triangle. The Revolution & the Civil War in Spain 1936-39" <http://www.efn.org/~danr/spain36.htm>, 7/8/2000.

[303]The former: Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 173; Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 175.

[304]Michael Siedman, "Agrarian Collectives during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War," *European History Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (2000): 210.

libertarian militia unit."[305] Other historians question the level of voluntariness.[306] Collectivization occurred "both spontaneous[ly] and unwillingly" and at least some "urban militants …imposed their idea of libertarian communism or socialism."[307]

The role of individualists in the period of collectivization is rather easy to answer for the majority of anarchist historians: rights of "individualists" who chose not to join the collectives were respected and in "some" cases they even were provided with food and supplies in exchange for their products.[308] On the other hand, they have to concede that due to "practical problems and subtle social pressures," many had to abandon their villages or join the collectives. One of the "practical problems" was the abolition of money in most of the collectivized villages. With no money and no access to the coupons that replaced it, or with the exclusion of the barter economy which also has been introduced to some places, it was impossible to acquire necessary goods.

The destruction of collectives started in 1937. In the summer of 1937, the Aragon collectives, for anarchists the "wonder of the revolution,"[309] were dissolved by the Republican government although they had been legalized by the latter in January 1937. The attack on the collectives was initiated by the communists in the Republican Government and the Catalan *Generalitat*. The fact that the anarchist members of the government would and could not do anything about it contributed further to radicalization and polarization in

[305]Guerin, "Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution." In this case it was the "Durutti Column."

[306]Thomas, "Anarchist Collectives," 252: "hard to judge".

[307]Seidman, "Agrarian Collectives," 211.

[308]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 182.

[309]Peirats, *Anarchists*, 252.

the anarchist movement. The "anticollectivist campaign"[310] of the communists was a culmination of conflict between them and the anarchists that almost led to a civil war inside the civil war. In August six hundred CNT militants were killed in Aragon fighting against the break up of the collectives.[311]

Success or failure of the collectives in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War is hard to judge because of important reasons as for example the short time of collectivization, the war conditions, inner conflicts, and the statistical uncertainties and problems before, during, and after the Civil War.[312] The collectives remained "Stückwerk": "something unfinished, only realized in parts."[313] What problems did they and Spanish anarchism face?

There was a "quarreling multitude" of anarchist groups in Spain at the end of the 19th century. At one extreme they were "little more than Republicans" and at the other "embattled, individualistic terrorists."[314] There were at least two major strains of anarchism in Spain at that time: Anarcho-Syndicalism on the one hand and

[310]Ibid., 153. More on communist/anarchist confrontations: Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 174, 233, 241, and 243. Thomas, "Anarchist Collectives," 262.

[311]Ibid. 253. This number has to be considered unreliable, but it is very likely that were several hundreds killed.

[312]For statistical problems before and while the War see Ibid., 255. It has to be assumed that under the Franco regime any eventual records of collectives' successes were destroyed for political reasons.

[313]Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 111.

[314]Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 105. "There were also many outright reformists who called themselves 'Anarchists' because of the prestige and romantic aura that had begun to surround the word among the workers." Ibid., 6 also describes the spectrum of anarchists ranging from being "saint-like ascetics" or "fiery *pistoleros,*" "defiant terrorists" or "plodding organizers," "scholarly theorists" or "untutored activists."

radical anarchism, more violent and strictly non-hierarchical, on the other. The differences went along many cleavages.

First, strong regional differences and conflicts were apparent in Spain of the 1930s (and remain in 2000). The domination of very large landed estates, *latifundia,* was at its worst especially in the south. In Andalusia landless seasonal laborers, the *braceros*, rather than small proprietors, made up the majority of the population.[315] The rivalry between Andalusian and the more urban, industrial, and anarcho-syndicalist Catalan anarchists can be recognized as a major problem the anarchist movement never could overcome.[316] Many Catalan anarchists miraculously turned into communists when those were seen as stronger and more effective in the fight against the Castilian fascists. Regional differences between the movement in the *sierra* and the movement on the *latifundia*, the former contributing tenacity through the solidity of the *pueblo*, the latter instability through "poverty of social forms among the *braceros*,"[317] also account for frictions in the Spanish anarchist movement.

Both urban and rural "anarchisms" were "two different things"[318] and the movement was unable to bridge the gap. The anarchist's ties to the countryside

[315]Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 129.

[316]Guerin, *Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution*; Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 19.

[317]Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 92f. Probably meaning uncontrolled violence. In any case, there were differences in the embodiments of anarchism in the countryside.

[318]Gaston Leval, "Collectives in Spain" <http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/ anarchist_archives/leval /collectives.html>, 7/8/2000 "abridged" version; printed version (London, 1945). Similar but less strong: Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 91: "marked differences." More on the differences in Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 82, 84, 114, 175.

were "not as close as they thought"[319] and because they were busy themselves in the cities, and with other external enemies they lost more ties through the years of the revolution and Civil War. While the workers used strikes in the cities, rural anarchists engaged in "propaganda by deed" seizing their pueblos and declaring autonomy.[320] One specific tragic outcome of the coordination problems between the cities and the countryside were the events in Casas Viejas in January 1933, where one side did not know what was going on with the other one and peasant anarchists died as martyrs without any of the help from their urban comrades they hoped to get.[321]

There were also problems within urban anarchism. In his *Homage to Catalonia* George Orwell describes Spain in the early 1930s to be suffering a "plague of initials."[322] Some of the plaguing initials referred to anarchists groups. The FAI, the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* a clandestine group within the CNT founded in 1927, its members younger and considering themselves "pure" anarchists—with the violent implications[323] of that—worked against the moderate and conciliatory elements within the CNT, especially after the latter's entrance to the Popular Front and the government. CNT moderates also had to fight on a second "anarchist front" against interventions of the AIT, the International

[319]Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 242.

[320]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 162

[321]For detailed coverage see Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*.

[322]George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (Boston, 1952), 47.

[323]Anónimo on the events in Casas Viejas, January 1933: "The failure of the uprising falls on the FAI and on the violent members of the movement, the young people of the FAI. All they wanted was revolution, revolution. All they knew was violence." Quoted in Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 264.

Workers Association, which saw basic anarchist goals betrayed with actions of the former and tried to control the revolution in Spain as far as possible.[324]

Besides the conflicts between the various peculiarities of Spanish anarchisms, they and their historiography had and has some basic problems in common. One of them is the inherent utopian component, which is especially important to historians right of center left on the political spectrum.[325] Anarchist historians' rhetoric that describes the "beautiful dream"[326] strikingly resembles depictions in utopian literature.[327] There were "always enough volunteers for the less desirable tasks," "decision-making within the collectives was fiercely democratic," and refugees were absorbed "with an admirable spirit of solidarity," as was the "voluntary provisioning of the fronts …another aspect of collectivized solidarity."[328] The collectives were palladiums of "harmony" and "co-operative exchange," its administration was "gradually evolving," the collectivized villages were "picturesque

[324]For example, a letter of Alexander Schapiro to the national committee of the CNT in 1933, discussed in Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 270; for AIT see http://www.iwa-ait.com/.

[325]For example see: Gabriel Jackson, *Spanish Republic and Civil War 1931-1939* (Princeton, 1965), 167, quoted in Payne, *Spain's First Democracy*, 221.

[326]Leval, "Collectives in Spain."

[327]The following reminds one of Thomas More's depiction of the island U-topia: similar social critique (first book), similar solutions (second book), abolition of money, no luxury commodities, trust in positivist science; small work collectives; on the other hand this had also a lot of differences (state-socialism) and the utopism of Charles Fourier or other first half 19th century socialist utopists probably had a more direct relationship.

[328]Peirats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*, 140, 146-7.

…as if they were cut out from a Goya painting."[329] Although even some anarchists recognized attempts to reach the "sky without a ladder,"[330] with a "naïve detachment from [the] surroundings,"[331] Casas Viejas was surely not the only village where the goals of the revolutionaries were "far from a super natural millennium or a patent utopia."[332]

Another basic problem where theoretical impetus and practical implementation are far from being identical was the position of women in the Spanish anarchist movement. Despite having Frederica Montseny as a leading icon, the position of women in the anarchist movement was still characterized by discrimination: a fact that one of the leading figures of anarchism worldwide, Emma Goldman, had to experience on her own. The policy of the CNT "barely scratched the surface of sexism."[333] On the contrary, for one anarchist historian the situation was the following: "egoism *still* [was] deeply rooted in human nature, *especially among women*."[334]

In addition to the problems of Spanish anarchism there are many examples of the collectives' specific problems.[335] In contrast to anarchist propaganda, recent research hardens the evidence that prosperous collectives frequently refused to aid less affluent ones as well as the existence of a mutual antagonism between union

[329]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 182, 186, 194, 222; and Franz Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit* (London, 1937), 93, quoted in Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 279.

[330]José Monroy; quoted in Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 27.

[331]Guerin, "Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution."

[332]Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 4.

[333]Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 75.

[334]Guerin, "Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution" (emphasis added by the author).

[335]The following arguments follow Seidman, "Agrarian Collectives," 215-24.

officials and collectivists. Peasants were reluctant to provide information on revenues out of fear of expropriation. In the words of the CNT leader, Horacio Prieto, the collectives' autonomy became "permanent egotism."[336] The wartime economy was struggling because of heavy inflation rates. In the first year of the war, the Republican *peseta* lost approximately half its value on foreign exchange markets and at the same time domestic confidence. The barter economy of the collectives especially excluded people working in the secondary and tertiary sector. Tensions heightened when failure of the transport network intensified leading to hunger and depression. Price and wage controls of the Republic had urban priorities provoking divisions between rural and urban interests in both the CNT and UGT. Members of agrarian collectives answered their feeling of discrimination by becoming black marketers and returning to subsistence. Confiscation was at least less likely with little or no surplus of agrarian goods. The fear of expropriation, price controls, inflation, and scarcity encouraged hoarding. In return, Republic officials accused the "unchecked egotism" of the hoarders for causing high prices and scarcities in cities and towns. Municipal authorities answered the hoarding with additional controls and inspections, as well as with confiscations of the stocks of collectives. During the war tensions between the Republic's police, soldiers and the collectives found additional intensification because of looting and confiscating of the former. "Towns hid what they possessed."[337] As one contemporary observer reports, revolutionaries passed through the countryside not to liberate it, but "in order to rob those who throughout the years and throughout the centuries have

[336]Quoted in Seidman, "Agrarian Collectives," 215.
[337]Ibid. 217, 219, 222.

been robbed by the very persons who have just been defeated by the revolution."[338]

Most of the possible reasons for the failure of Spanish Revolution that have been discussed so far are missing from the list compiled by anarchist historians. One common conclusion of them on the main reason for failure of the Revolution is "external influence," more specifically interventions by the Republican Government and especially from "the communists." In the literature used for this essay, fascists with international help are rarely mentioned as one of the reasons.[339]

Agricultural self-management was an "indisputable success except where it was sabotaged by its opponents or interrupted by the war." The "major obstacle …was the increasingly open hostility to self-management …by various political general staffs of Republican Spain"; without it, and without the "parasites on the villagers" and their protection by "corrupt officials and political parties," it would have "completely succeeded."[340] The failures of the anarchist movement, then, are seen by anarchist analyzers as mainly caused by the supposed allies on the left, especially communists, and only to a lesser extent by internal conflicts, like the "urban orientation" or anarchist's absorption into the state's bureaucracy.[341]

Conclusion

Theories and faces of anarchism in the Spanish Revolution were multifaceted; one common premise of anarchist theory was to remain apolitical: staying

[338]Juan Peiró; quoted in Kern, *Red Years/Black Years*, 177.
[339]Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 238, 259, 420-1; The song lyrics in Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 240; Breitbart, "The Theory and Practice," 273: "Communist harassment"; Only Olson, "The Revolutionary Spirit," and to a lesser extent Family, "The Spanish Triangle" make that argument.
[340]Peirats, *Anarchists*, 142.
[341]Ibid. 14-5.

outside the political system. During the revolution and the Civil War this postulate was compromised through many events and actions of the CNT. Centralization of power, forced surrender of autonomy, and militarization led to the creation of an elite and bureaucratism, exactly what they had tried to avoid.[342] The turn of the position towards "apolitical" is best described in the words of CNT leader Horacio Prieto: "We had to fight capitalism and the state previously, and we were therefore implacably apolitical; now it is our duty to guide and make the state moral. We must therefore be implacably political."[343] Every anarchist Spanish did not share this position, of course. Some, especially the *faistas* of the FAI, censured Prieto's views as "utopianism."[344] But, it was the view of the leadership of the largest anarchist organization. It can be doubted that the crisis of the Civil War was the only reason for this shift away from being radical "apolitical" in practice. In the perception of some anarchist historians, the effect it had was not less than the self-destruction of the CNT-FAI.[345]

Anarchists themselves see many factors why the agrarian movement and the Spanish Revolution failed. The primary reason for most of them was the "external influence" of "enemies," either moderate anarchists, republicans, communists, Spanish, German or Italian fascists, and the destructive powers of the Civil War.[346]

[342]Olson, "The Revolutionary Spirit"; Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 180; Caplan, *The Anarcho-Statists of Spain*; Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 141.

[343]Juan Gómez Casas, *Anarchist Organisation: The History of the F.A.I.* (Montreal, 1986), 234. Original Spanish quote in Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 140.

[344]Casas, *Anarchist Organisation*, 234.

[345]Schmid, *Das rot-schwarze Spanien*, 147.

[346]War conditions can be considered an argument only to a certain extent; every party had its contributions that a Civil War broke out in the first place, not underestimating the strong structural

The major "internal" determinants anarchist historiography provides are the isolation of the agrarian movement to few localities and the failure to resolve the conflict between the urban and rural movement. Only one anarchist historian admits the problems of a "forced birth" of the "ideal society." Many non-anarchists determine a large degree of sectarianism, inherent flaws of ideology, or utopian wishful thinking, expressed for example in the believe that capitalism would disappear together with the capitalists[347] as major reasons for the anarchists' failures. Being apolitical will not work for a long time if there are very political ambitious groups around you, especially if despite the theoretical premise very political goals are pursued, violently or not.

Despite the loss in the Spanish Civil War the anarchist movement was not just a group of anarchists "playing at revolution."[348] "The movement seems to have failed—but not the ideas"[349]: the résumé of Emma Goldman expresses the "residue in minds" the anarchist movement created. A residue of social successes[350] from workers rights, equality to welfare that can hardly be expressed by numbers. A positive image of mutual aid and heroism that, detached from the "actual historic events," influenced the Left in the rest of the 20th century.

forces that powered this process; some of them have been discussed in the agrarian perspective in the second chapter.

[347]Caplan, "The Anarcho-Statists of Spain."

[348]Payne, *Spain's First Democracy*, 129.

[349]Robert W. Kern, "Anarchist Principles and Spanish Reality: Emma Goldman as a Participant in the Civil War 1936-39," *Journal of Contemporary History* 11 (1976): 248.

[350]Thomas, "Anarchist Collectives," 263: "there is a good deal of evidence for thinking that they were a considerable social success."

Investigating the HUAC Charges that SNCC was Communist

Heather Stecklein

Heather Stecklein, a graduate student in the Historical Administration program, wrote the undergraduate thesis upon which this article is based while at Loras College. She delivered a version of this paper at an Iowa regional Phi Alpha Theta history conference in April 2000, where it received an award as an outstanding undergraduate paper.

In news footage, Southern suppression of the 1960s civil rights movement is portrayed by vicious police dogs and powerful fire hoses brutalize peaceful activists. Although these images show Southerners' attempts to stifle civil rights activists, they do not provide a complete picture of the South's opposition to the civil rights movement. The more subtle tactics used by Southern Congressmen caused greater impediment to the movement than physical assaults. By examining Southern Congressmen's charges that civil rights groups were communist, we can better understand the magnitude of the antagonism these groups endured.

On February 16, 1966, Congressman Colmer of Mississippi attacked the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) before the U.S. House of Representatives. Claiming that the group was a communist force acting "under the guise of civil rights," Colmer asserted that the group's actions were "aiding

the Communist conspiracy to enslave the world."[351] The following day Colmer's colleague, Congressman Joe Waggoner of Louisiana, introduced House Resolution 738, which called for a House Committee on un-American Activities (HUAC) investigation of SNCC and several other organizations.[352]

But HUAC's investigation of the group is questionable. The congressmen involved in HUAC initiated the investigation to stifle the civil right group's use of federal intervention for the movement. Many of the congressmen involved in the investigation of SNCC participated in blatant resistance to the civil rights movement's legislative progression. Furthermore, the congressmen's motives are questionable because SNCC did not exhibit characteristics common in communist groups. SNCC's work in voter registration drives demonstrated the organization's desire to work within the existing system to obtain its goals. In addition, an analysis of literature read by prominent SNCC members indicates that they held beliefs that ran contrary to the rigid ideologies of communist organizations. Also, SNCC adopted a loose, individualistic structure for its organization that ran contrary to the strict structure of communist organizations. The congressmen who initiated HUAC's investigation of SNCC in 1966 based their efforts upon a threat of federal civil rights legislation and not a threat of communism.

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[351]Congress, House, Congressman Colmer of Mississippi, "Attack on Mississippi is Communist Inspired". H. R. 738, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Record* (16 February 1966): 3050-3052; *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers,1959-1972* Microfilm Edition (Sanford, 1982), A:VIII:234:0071-0072. [Hereafter cited *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*, subgroup: series: file: frame.]

[352]Congress, House, *Resolution* 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., H.R. 738, *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*, A:VIII:234:0054-0055.

Prior to 1966, chief HUAC investigators participated in attempts to stifle the implementation of federal decisions regarding civil rights policy. A 1966 SNCC background memo indicated that HUAC's 1966 vice-chairman and chairman, Representative William Tuck of Virginia and Representative Edwin Willis of Louisiana, had long opposed the federal government's drive toward desegregation.[353] These representatives publicly opposed civil rights legislation by asserting that it would violate states' rights at the hands of the federal government.[354] The men's legislative participation and public statements prior to 1966 demonstrated their opposition to federal civil rights legislation and established their motivation for investigating SNCC.

Representative William Tuck, vice-chairman of the 1966 HUAC, was instrumental in the massive Virginia resistance plans to the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas school desegregation decision.[355] His first project, the Gray Plan of 1955, allowed local school boards to determine where pupils would go to school. It stated that school boards should utilize criteria, such as health, transportation convenience, and aptitude, to determine their student populations.[356] These factors played upon the established differences between black and white

[353]"Background Memo on HUAC," n.d.,1, *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*, A:VIII:234:0027.

[354]William Bryan Crawley, Jr., *Bill Tuck: A Life in Harry Byrd's Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1978), 251; Lawrence Franklin Ingram, "Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana Congressman 1948-1968, A Career Biography" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1973), 215.

[355]Background Memo on HUAC, A:VIII:234:0027.

[356]Daniel J. Akin, "Regime Politics Surrounding Desegregation Decision-Making During Massive Resistance in Richmond, Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., Virginia Commonwealth University, 1991), 99.

students and prevented a large amount of racial integration.[357]

Following the Virginia legislature's approval of the Gray Plan, Tuck influenced a second plan—the Stanley Plan—that called for the governor to close any school where the Supreme Court's decision forced segregation.[358] If the local school board opted to reopen the school integrated, the governor could withhold its state funding.[359] The schools' other opportunity would be to remain closed. In this case, the students of the district would be given tuition grants to attend a segregated school.[360] Through the Stanley and Gray plans, Tuck sought to impede the transition in Virginia from segregation to integration.

In addition to his resistance to Brown vs. Board of Education, Tuck extensively opposed civil rights legislation in the U.S. Congress. He consistently affirmed that the federal government did not have the right to determine racial matters of the states. Tuck rejected the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, stating that it would "coerce and compel submission of innkeepers and landlords to the dictatorial edicts of overlords in Washington."[361] The following year, Tuck attacked the Voting Rights Act of 1965, stating, "House Resolution 6400 reaches a crest in the flood of Federal intrusions into the matters constitutionally reserved to the States."[362] Tuck devoted a great amount of his political

[357]Crawley, *Bill Tuck*, 228.

[358]Ibid., 233.

[359]Akin, "Regime Politics," 106.

[360]Crawley, *Bill Tuck*, 233.

[361]Congress, House, Representative Tuck speaking on the Civil Rights Bill, H.R. 7152, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Record* 110, pt. 2 (February 1 1964): 1587.

[362]Congress, House, Representative Tuck Speaking on the Voting Rights Bill, H.R. 6400, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. *Congressional Record* 111, pt. 12 (July 7, 1965): 15720.

career to his belief in diminishing the role of the federal government in determining state civil rights policy.

Representative Edwin Willis also established a pattern of opposition to federal intervention in state civil rights policy. Willis summarized his position on states' rights in February 1964, stating that the federal system did not create a "single best answer to every problem" in the states, but tended to "prevent the states from adopting any worst answer."[363] Willis acted upon this belief by using his political position to oppose federal participation in state civil rights policy. Long before he was elected chair of HUAC, he refused to support House Resolution 3199 in 1949. This bill aimed to facilitate enfranchisement for poor African-Americans by ending the poll tax in the seven states in which it remained.[364] He refused to endorse the bill because it mandated that federal officials ensure obedience to the law by supervising southern elections.[365]

Seven years later, Willis further declared his opposition to federal intervention by joining the 101 congressional signatories of the *Southern Manifesto*.[366] Southern congressmen drafted this document on March 12, 1956 as a public condemnation of the Supreme Court's Brown vs. Board of Education decision. The document asked for the reversal of the decision[367] and affirmed that the decision was a "clear abuse of judicial power."[368]

The congressmen's opposition to federal intervention in state civil rights policy could have influenced their opinion of SNCC. SNCC members

[363]Ingram, "Edwin E. Willis," 115.
[364]Ibid., 102.
[365]Ibid.,107.
[366]Background Memo on HUAC, A:VIII:234:0027.
[367]Grundman, "Public School Desegregation," 120.
[368]Akin, 104.

prided themselves on working within the system to gain federal government support for civil rights objectives. These activities encouraged federal intervention in state operations—a proposal that enraged Willis and Tuck. Consequently, they may have influenced the Congressmen's decision to accuse the group of communist activity.

SNCC's activism within the existing capitalist system undermined any assertion that the group was communist. Marx and Engels, of course, had asserted that "the immediate aim of the Communists is …formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat."[369] SNCC did not adopt the communist revolutionary idea as its motivation for action. Instead, it focused upon reform within the existing system. SNCC member Mary King described SNCC's goal in her memoir, *Freedom Song*: "Ours was not a revolution nor was it pressing for exotic ideals; it was a movement to assure basic rights and to allow blacks to participate in their own governance."[370] In 1966, SNCC member Stokely Carmichal asserted that SNCC's main focus in the years leading up to that time was to gain political power by enfranchising Southern blacks.[371] In addition, SNCC initiated an enormous voter registration drive during the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Summer volunteers convinced over 17,000 African-Americans to

[369]Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in *Great Issues of Western Civilization* ed. Brian Tierney, et. al. (St. Louis, 1992), 284.
[370]Mary King, *Freedom Song* (New York, 1987), 276.
[371]Stokely Carmichal, "Power and Racism," n.d., 1, *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*, A:I:49:0104.

register to vote at the courthouse, but Mississippi law only allowed 1,600 to officially register.[372]

SNCC's voter registration work, in addition to the fundamental structure of SNCC was the very opposite of communist organizations. Communists believed that the organization should be firmly—and hierarchically—organized. Lenin, the first major organizer of a communist revolution, wrote that the conquered ruling class must be controlled by a group of revolutionaries with structure. Quoting a passage from Engels, he stated that there must be a "'special repressive force' of the proletariat for the suppression of the bourgeoisie."[373] Similarly, Mao Tse-tung, wrote, "Without a revolutionary party …it is impossible to lead the working class and broad masses of the people."[374] Finally, the *Programme of the Communist International* detailed the belief of the international movement for Communism that structure is paramount: "[t]he world system of Communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market …by consciously organized and planned production."[375]

According to Norm Fruchter, editor of the journal *Studies of the New Left*, SNCC opposed rigid organizations where there was a fixed leader and favored a group organization where "everybody is a leader."[376] Similarly, contemporary *Newsweek* editors noted that

[372]John Lewis, *Walking With the Wind* (New York, 1998), 274; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's* (Cambridge, 117).

[373]Vladimir I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," in *Great Issues of Western Civilization*, ed. Tierney, 319.

[374]Mao Tse-Tung, "Revolution is made by a Disciplined Revolutionary Party" in *Communism, Fascism and Democracy,* ed. Carl Cohen (St. Louis, 1997), 161.

[375]Third Communist International, "Programme of the Communist International" in idem, 211.

[376]Carson, *In Struggle*, 179.

SNCC was, "openly contemptuous of stuffy Marxist-Leninism or, for that matter, any organized ideology."[377]

SNCC based its organization on the concept of a "beloved community." Clayborne Carson, a prominent historian of the movement, affirmed that the concept stemmed from the students' willingness to meet solely on the basis of equality. They were "intolerant of anything that smacked of manipulation or domination," and "stressed that all people, regardless of educational background and class status, should have meaningful roles in the political process."[378] Mary King was fond of the concept of beloved community. She recounted that SNCC's main concept was to organize "local Negroes around the needs that they feel, so that it is not our giving direction to the local people so much as their giving us direction."[379] John Lewis affirmed that the essence of SNCC was "a bottom-up system of direction." While he was chairman of SNCC, he believed that if SNCC became highly organized and disciplined, it would be the organization's death.[380] James Forman expressed concern over this lack of organization for the group's efforts. Since he was an organized individual, the group's planning discussions frustrated him. He complained that "there seemed to be no order to the [group's] discussion…. [T]he process was shattering to the mind of someone who wanted order, point-to-point discussion, and resolution."[381]

The ideologies of individual SNCC members influenced the group's rejection of conventional Communism and willingness to work within the existing

[377]Ibid., 181.

[378]Ibid., 24, 142.

[379]King, *Freedom Song*, 482.

[380]Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 293.

[381]James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (Seattle, 1997), 236.

American system. The ideological foundation of the organization can be exhibited by the literature that prominent members read and followed. In early 1966, executive secretary Forman, chairman Lewis, and members King and Bob Moses were pivotal influences in the organization. The literature endorsed by SNCC members promoted participation within the existing system instead of an overthrow of the existing order. It also praised nonviolent action as an alternative to the communist concept of "violent revolution."[382] Finally, the literature asked African-Americans to develop an awareness of their role in their own oppression instead of developing a class-consciousness with a division between oppressor and oppressed.

Many SNCC members mentioned reading Reinhold Niebuhr's book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932). In his recount of his years with SNCC, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, Forman mentioned that this book was a significant influence on his belief that a non-violent mass movement could occur in the South and end segregation.[383] Niebuhr called for mass movements among the oppressed: "when collective power, whether in the form of imperialism of class domination, exploits weakness, it can never be dislodged unless power is raised against it."[384] Niebuhr asserted that the power could be raised in a mass movement within the system. He demonstrated this argument with a specific example of a possible method for African-Americans to counter oppression in the states. Niebuhr concluded that southern African-Americans needed to mobilize themselves by gaining access to a quality education. By doing this, they could

[382]Lenin, "State and Revolution," 321.

[383]Forman, *Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 85.

[384]Reinhold Neibuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, (New York, 1960), xii.

dispel white southerners' assertions that they were not intelligent enough to vote, and they could gain access to further opportunities in the existing system.[385]

A second influence was the writings of Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah. Forman considered Nkrumah's actions toward the liberation of Ghana an inspiration for SNCC.[386] Forman praised Nkrumah for his adherence to a doctrine of nonviolent direct action. Nkrumah believed that the attainment of education and participation within the system was paramount to a successful liberation movement of the oppressed. Nkrumah stated that literacy was the "strongest weapon of the imperialists" in "holding people down."[387] He urged that "every literate person in Africa teach at least one person who is at present illiterate to become literate."[388] SNCC's movement toward equal rights centered upon obtaining legal support for blacks' right to vote and educating southern blacks to meet the system's voting literacy standards.

The writing of Indian liberator Mahatma Gandhi motivated SNCC workers to adopt a concept of political change through nonviolent action and demonstration. In early 1966, John Lewis mentioned Gandhi's *Non-violent Resistance (Satyagraha)* as a key piece of literature to his ideology. This book introduced its readers to the concept of Satyagraha, which Gandhi explained as, "vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self."[389] The process was not of

[385]Ibid.,119.

[386]Forman, *Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 105.

[387]Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom* (New York, 1961), 7.

[388]Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom,* 8.

[389]M.K. Gandhi, *Non-violent Resistance* (New York, 1951), 6

attacking the opponent, but of patiently reinforcing the truth until he recognizes the error of his ways.[390]

Lewis believed that Satyagraha should guide SNCC members in their pursuit for equality. Lewis interpreted the concept as "a holy and affective thing." He described its influence: "It affects not only ourselves, but it touches and changes those around us as well. It opens us and those around us to a force beyond ourselves, a force that is right and moral, the force of righteous truth that is the basis of human conscience."[391] Lewis believed that Gandhi's principle of nonviolence could be applied to the United States civil rights struggle. He thought of Gandhi as an inspiration for nonviolent action's potency: "Gandhi showed it could be done. This one little man, armed with nothing but the truth and a fundamental faith in the response of human society to redemptive suffering, was able to reshape an entire nation without raising so much as a fist."[392]

Finally, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* and Albert Camus's *The Rebel* inspired SNCC members to recognize their own need to rise to equality. Instead of entertaining the notion that African-Americans in the South should be dichotomized against white oppressors, these books asked them to recognize mutual humanity with those who caused their oppression. This idea ran contrary to the writings of prominent communists, who accentuated the need for the oppressed class to recognize their oppressors as a separate class that deserved obliteration.

Regarding a colonial situation in Algeria, Fanon wrote that situations of oppression are based upon an established dichotomy between the oppressed and oppressor. The oppressor reminds the oppressed that

[390]Ibid., 7.
[391]Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 85.
[392]Ibid., 86.

"he is the master," and the oppressed becomes passive because he is wrapped up in the chains of that statement.[393] However, once the oppressed "discovers that his life, his breath, his beating heart are the same" as the oppressor's, he can recognize his ability to counteract the condition of injustice.[394] In her memoir, King recounted Fanon as a significant influence. The book motivated her to view herself as "a serious political being functioning in a democratic system that must be forced to change or live up to its promise."[395] SNCC members used the new concept of mutual humanity with desegregationists as an affirmation that they must seek the same rights.

King also mentioned the influence of Camus's *The Rebel*. Like Fanon, Camus also pondered the effect of colonialism on Algerians. Camus resolved that revolution could not be based upon a moral ideal that denies the humanity of the adversary. He reasoned: "Calculated revolution which, in preferring an abstract concept of man to a man of flesh and blood …allows itself to be contaminated with resentment; it denies life."[396] Thus, if African-Americans in the South only recognized themselves as moral superiors to Southern whites, they would forget the whites' humanity. SNCC members realized that moralistic actions would be based in the same type of dichotomous attitude that the Southern whites used to justify racism. King maintained that Camus taught SNCC to strike a balance between moral purity and political effectiveness.[397] Viewing

[393]Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 1963), 54.
[394]Ibid., 45.
[395]King, *Freedom Song*, 170.
[396]Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (New York, 1956), 302.
[397]King, *Freedom Song*, 162.

whites as the “other” could only lead to mimicking the actions with which they disagreed.

The 1966 House Resolution to investigate SNCC was motivated by forces against federal civil rights intervention rather than genuine concern that the group was a communist infiltration. Many of the prominent congressmen in HUAC, the group assigned with the investigation, demonstrated histories of opposition to federal civil rights intervention. Both Edwin Willis and William Tuck labored for decades to suppress federal involvement in state civil rights procedures. The activities SNCC undertook to achieve this goal may have antagonized the congressmen, but they also stand as evidence that the group did not represent communist values. House Resolution 738 was an attempt to stifle federal intervention in state civil rights practices rather than an attempt to discover communist activity.